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The
AMERINDIANS

*From Acuera to Sitting Bull
From Donnacona to Big Bear*

By
DONALD M. McNICOL



FREDERICK A. STOKES COMPANY
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To
NICKEE-NIC

COMPANION ON SILENT TRAILS,
ALONG RIVERS, ON THE PRAIRIE,
AND IN THE MOUNTAINS

“It is only what the Indian does to the white man that is published to the country, never what the white man does to the Indian.”

—*Official Report of General Pope, June, 1864.*

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xv

CHAPTER I

THE AMERINDIANS MEET EXPLORERS

Arrival of Portuguese and Spanish Explorers in America. Muscogee. Creek. Mobilian. Choctaw. Chickasa. Black Warrior.	3
--	---

CHAPTER II

FRENCH NAVIGATOR DESCRIBES NATIVES

Arrival of French Explorers. Algonquin. Huron. Donnacona. Agona. Lenni-Lenape. Delaware. Lap- pawinsoe.	21
---	----

CHAPTER III

ENGLISH NAVIGATORS ENCOUNTER NATIVES

Manteo. Wanchese. Wingini. Ensenore. Indian "Kings." Powhatan. Nansemond. Massawomeck. Po- tomac. Susquehanna. Rappahanock. Mannahock. Tockwogh. Appomatox. Monacan. Opechancanough. Samoset. Nauset. Aspinet. Massasoit. Squanto. Tokamahamon. Iyanough. Wittuwamet. Peskuot. Coneconam. Nipmuc. Abenaki. Tarratine. Wam- panoag. Narraganset. Canonicus. Philip. Pequot. Mohegan. Uncas. Sassacus. Miantonomo. Niantic. Mauwee. Sassamon. Canonchet. Mohegan. Mo- hawk. Iroquois. Lenni-Lenape. Esopus. Hackensack. Raritan. Ninegret.	31
---	----

CHAPTER IV

NATIVE TITLE TO HOMELANDS

Cannassatogo. Titles to Land. Land Tenure. Treaties. Grants. Claims.	61
--	----

CHAPTER V

RIVALRY FOR THE FUR-TRADE

To-mo-chi-chi. Yamacraw. Yamasee. Savannah. Cherokee. Creek. See-naw-ki. Mary Musgrove. Too-nah-wl. Natchez. Great Sun. Hassouan. Huron. Tuscarora. Algonquin. Micmac. Melisite. Abenaki. Montagnais. Ojibway. Shawnee. Arkansas. Cree. Potawatomie. Sac. Wyandot. Ottawa. Tessouat. Nibachis. Assiniboine. Dog Rib. Stony. Chippewayan. Yellow Knife. Sarsi.	75
---	----

CHAPTER VI

NATIVES ALLIES OF WARRING COLONISTS

Miami. Half-King. Mohawk. King Hendrik. Ottawa. Wyandot. Chippewas. Mississaugue. Winnebago. Fox. Wawatum. Minavavana. Pontiac. Mingo. Logan. Cornstalk.	91
--	----

CHAPTER VII

TREATMENT OF CAPTIVES

Treatment of Captives.	107
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VIII

NATIVES RESIST WESTERING SETTLERS

Orono. Gi-en-gwa-tah. Queen Esther. Joseph Brant. Oneida. Tecumseh. Cornplanter. Red Jacket. Kickapoo. The Prophet. Black Partridge. McGillvray. .	115
--	-----

CHAPTER IX

GOLD FOR INDIAN SCALPS

Weatherford. Creek. Osceola. Seminole. Micanopy.	
Cherokee. Keokuk. Tammany. Black Hawk. Pian-	
kishaw. Weas. Peoria. Konza. Puncah. Ottoe.	
Osage. Menominee. Tom Starr.	129

CHAPTER X

AMERICAN NATIVES IN PRAIRIE COUNTRY

Illinois. Kankaskia. Peoria. Tamaroa. Moingona.	
Miami. Wapoo. Mascoutin. Chickasa. Arkansas.	
Natchez. Coroa. Ouma. Taensa. Motantee. Kick-	
apoo. Assoni. Caddo. Acquipaguentin. Narrhetoba.	
Sioux. Wetapahota. Kiowa. Castahana. Cataka.	
Dotomi. Padouca. Wasbasha. Sauk. Ayauway. Kani-	
naviesch. Weahrushhah. Dacorta. Madowesian.	
Teton. Okandanda. Minakenozzo. Saone. Wahpa-	
tone. Midawarcarton. Wahpotoota. Sistasoone.	
Assiniboine. Knistenaux. Annahaway. Mandan.	
Minnetaree. Cheyenne. Ricara. Crow. Paunch. Fall.	
Gros Ventre. Pegan. Blood. Blackfeet. Flathead.	
Snake. Pahkee. Nez Percé.	147

CHAPTER XI

FUR-PACKS FROM THE WEST

Cheyenne. Arapaho. Bannack. Pend d'Oreille.	
Shoshoke. Root Digger. Wallah Wallah. Eutaw.	
Skyanse. Arapooish. Jim Bridger. John Bozeman.	
Arikara.	167

CHAPTER XII

RAILROADS REACH INDIAN COUNTRY

Déné. Piman. Yuman. Apache. Lipan. Navajo. Tano. Keresan. Hopi. Whoa. Comanche. Mohave. Maricopa. Papago. Pueblo. Cochise. Nana. Mag-nas Colorados. Cheno. Geronimo. Ogalala. Red Cloud. Hunkpapa. Brulé. Sans Arc. Minneconjou. Crow Wing. Roman Nose. Winnebago.	175
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII

NATIVES BATTLE FOR HOMELANDS

Custer. Black Kettle. Little Robe. Cut-Nose. Battle of the Washita. Little Beaver.	195
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV

PACIFIC COAST TRIBES WAR FOR RIGHTS

Rogue River. Ol-hath-e. Appeyate. Modoc. La-lac-a. Klamath. Tenino. Shasta. Kient-poos. Chum-munt. Chic-chix-us. Ski-et-tete-ko. Schonchin. Black Jim. Boston Charlie. Nez Percé. Joseph. Too-hool-hool-suit. Looking Glass. White Bird. Thunder. Eagle.	205
--	-----

CHAPTER XV

A DIARY OF THE DOOMED

The Railroads. Gold. Sitting Bull. Rain-in-the-face. Crazy Horse. Iron Horse. Lame Deer. Gaul. Ute. Battle of the Little Big Horn. American Horse. Battle of Slim Buttes. Dull Knife. Big Crow. Iron Star. Sitting Bull in Canada. Swift Hawk. Little Elk. Run-ning Antelope. Chasing Crow. Many Horses. Pretty Weasel. Thunder Hawk. White-bordered-tail. Shoots

Walking. Gives Goose. Little Tusk. Red Feather.	
No Neck. Loud-voiced Hawk. Grindstone. Running	
Against. Crawler. Two Bears. Red Fox. Brown	
Thunder. Kansu. Bird-claw-necklace. Bird-in-the-	
ground. Makes-the-enemy. Running Close. Feather	
Mane. White-black-bird. White Buffalo. Cloud Shield.	
Magpie Eagle. Bear Tooth. Water Carrier. Looking	
Elk. Long Horns. Carries-the-prairie-chicken. Swift	
Bull. Wide Skirt. Sun Dreamer. Bloody Knife.	
Half-yellow-face. White Bull. Young-black-moon.	
Dog-with-horns. Deeds. Swift Bear. Red Face.	
Bad-light-hair. Hawk Man. Cloud Man. Elk Bear.	
Lone Dog. Three Bears. Kill Him. Chased-by Owls.	
Dog's-back-bone. Black Fox. Left-hand-ice. Bear-	
with-horn. Swift Cloud. Standing Elk. White Eagle.	
Long Robe. Mustache. Young Bear. Flying By.	
Owens-red-horse. One Bull. Four Horns. Two-	
moon. Fat Bear. Brown Back. White-hair-on-face.	
Circling Hawk. Bobtail Bull. Good-bear-boy. Bobtail	
Horse. Iron Lightning. Owns Horns. Bad Juice.	
Shell Earring. Snake Creek. Knife King. Spotted	
Eagle. Pretty Bear. Bear's Cap. The-eagle-sitting-	
down. Flying Bird. Whirlwind Bear. Iron Dog. .	217

CHAPTER XVI

RECOURSE TO "MESSIAHS"

Ponca. Ute. Ghost Dances. Wal-tit-a-wan. Co-	
we-go. Queetize-ow. Piute. Battle of Wounded	
Knee. Standing Bear.	247

CHAPTER XVII

TRAILS AND FUR-TRADING POSTS

French-Indian Relations. Early Trails. Chippewa.	
--	--

	PAGE
Ojibway. Louis Riel. Métis. Lapine. Père Lacombe.	
Bishop Tache.	255

CHAPTER XVIII

A RAILROAD INTO RUPERT'S LAND

Early Travel. Transportation. Dawson Road. The Railroads. Gabriel Dumont.	285
---	-----

CHAPTER XIX

INTERRUPTION TO THE FUR-TRADE

The Fur-trade. Cree. Sioux. Blackfeet. Stony. Royal Northwest Mounted Police. Big Bear. Traveling Spirit. Poundmaker. Piapot. Crowfoot. Dumont. Dumas. Fort Garry. Manachoos. Papuh-mak-sick. Apis Chaskoos. Wah-wah-nitch. Nabpace. Wah-wah-se-owen. Itka. Wahsagamap. Mus-sin-ass. Co-pin-ou-way-in. Pee-yay-cheew. Wahpiah. Naoke-siekookeuaise. Kamanitowas. Kopis-ik-inew. Touissant. Ki-hi-wa-ka-pim-wat. Mitcheways. Assis-kiw-natauko. Kyam-ka-pit. Jakecum. Pitchewas. Mee-tay-way-is. Osasaweow. Kaminibowas. Lucky Man. White Cap. Beardy. Wahisca. Sakaman. Three Bulls. Red Crow. Mistawawsis. Star Blanket. Iron Shield. Running Rabbit. White Pup. Day Chief. Crop-ear-wolf. Running Wolf. Bull Head. Jacob-bear's-paw. Cheneka. Jonas-big-Stony. Master Jim. David-wolf-carrier. .	301
--	-----

CHAPTER XX

CONCLUSION

Conclusion	329
BIBLIOGRAPHY	335
INDEX	337

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose in presenting this work to the public is to make available a single volume of readable length dealing with the experiences of the Amerindians from the time of the arrival of the first Europeans, until the Indians who remained, or had survived, were herded onto restricted reservations, where they could be policed and restrained.

It is believed that the story is told in sufficient detail so that no turning events, or crises, have been omitted from consideration.

From a period within eight years after Columbus's landfall until the last decade of the nineteenth century, a span of nearly four centuries, the American natives stoutly resisted the usurpation of their lands by white adventurers and colonists from Europe. Estimates made during colonial days indicate that there were approximately one million natives resident in North America when the white men came here.

Warring for nearly four centuries with the whites for the retention of spacious hunting lands had, down to the year 1865, lessened the number of native inhabitants to about one-third of the number here at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The census for the year 1865 showed two hundred and ninety-five thousand Indians in the United States. However, notwithstanding that warfare between Government military forces and the

Indians continued for two decades after the Civil War, 1865, by the year 1891 the Indian population had been lessened only to two hundred and forty-seven thousand.

It was not until the year 1924 that the national Government granted full citizenship to the remaining Indians. Of these, two-thirds are domiciled in Arizona, California, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Washington, Wisconsin and the Dakotas.

Under the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, the number of Indians serving in the widely distributed agencies of the Department has been increased. Even as late as the year 1933, less than thirty per cent. of those on the Indian service pay-rolls were Indians. At this writing, 1936, approximately sixty per cent. of the total of this pay-roll is paid to Indians.

In the widely read New York *Sun* of March 19, 1935, in an editorial in which Indian national legislation is discussed, appears the following:

" . . . The experience of the Indians with the pale-faces over the course of four centuries and more should be warrant enough for elementary caution in estimating the beneficent intent of legislation. If the Indians ever put in a full bill for the aggregate of damages done by way of sharp-trading, broken words, the forked tongue, superior arms and manifest destiny, it will be of a size to make all others interested in the outpourings of the Treasury turn pale with awe."

It is simple history that in historic times the first white masters of America were explorers, adventurers, resourceful military figures, and Court favorites—scions of the English, Spanish, French, Dutch and Swedish nobilities. A common objective was to continue

to be, or to become, landed gentry. The early growth of large plantations throughout the southeastern States called for the availability of tens of thousands of "hands" to till the wide acres. Historical precedent suggested that the conquered natives should without ado or fuss fall in with this plan, energetically taking to the hoe as if for centuries they had been waiting for this opportunity under benevolent masters.

The early governors of Virginia made vigorous attempts in this direction. Countless Indians were forcibly enslaved, and many were shipped to Europe to be sold as slaves. It was this complete misunderstanding of the natures of the Amerindians which led to much needless carnage.

The fact that the Indians refused to be slaves on the plantations of white men lessened considerably as a disturbing condition as soon as the purchase of Negroes from Africa began. By the time the War of Independence terminated nearly seven hundred thousand Negro slaves were at work on plantations in the Southern States, and at that time there were in the country not more than three million whites over sixteen years of age.

The European navigators, explorers and traders who first encountered the American natives neither visualized nor dreamed of a possible civilization for America particularized in railroads, telegraphs, telephones, radio, concrete highways, automobiles and electric light. If manifest destiny is to be credited with, or charged with, what has thus far developed in the way of civilization, the early whites may well be cleared of any design therein. The discoverers returning to Europe reported

America a source of strong-limbed slaves, and of no end of soft, warm furs. This was inspiration enough for adventuring traders. The American natives, however, proved not to be of promising slave material.

Colonizers and settlers who followed the discoverers soon became to a desperate extent dependent upon supplies of native corn to sustain life. For some years, also, fresh meat, although in abundance on the hoof, was supplied the white men by the red. The European blunderbuss, when discharged, acted to scare away game for miles beyond taking. The Indians' silent arrows were in this respect more serviceable.

The profitable traffic in beaver pelts and other furs which immediately commenced was the beginning of trade with America. The need for Indian corn to sustain life; the demand for more and more peltries; the determination to gain control of land, together with sundry personal reasons on the part of numerous Europeans for departing for distant shores, made up the conditions which inaugurated the hand-to-hand struggle between the invaders and the natives which was destined to continue nearly four centuries.

Once it became clear to our Colonial forebears that the Indians would not work *for* them, little or no disposition appears to have developed to work *with* the natives.

The lapse of a generation in time, since the last native uprisings, may enable present-day students of American and Canadian history to view dispassionately the records of campaigns and battles in which the red-men played virile parts. The formal histories of a century, and a half-century ago portrayed the American natives as

inevitable hostiles, and savages. Their resistance to white aggression and white advance into the forests and along the life-giving streams was pictured as resulting in atrocities, scalp-lifting and red savagery. The welter of gleaming tomahawks, poisoned arrows, flint-pointed spears, and scalping knives, was raked over to construct and set down one side of the story.

It may not be too late, and it may not be too soon, to present both sides simultaneously.

CHAPTER I

THE AMERINDIANS MEET EXPLORERS

ARRIVAL OF PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH EXPLORERS IN
AMERICA. MUSCOGEE. CREEK. MOBILIAN. CHOC-
TAW. CHICKASA. TUSCALOOSA. BLACK WARRIOR.

CHAPTER I

THE AMERINDIANS MEET EXPLORERS

THE histories of the Spanish, English and French colonies in North America, and the histories of the United States and Canada, are closely woven with the history of the American natives. From the beginning there was bitter warfare between the white colonists and the Indians, and while, throughout the centuries, the non-Indian population of the United States and Canada grew from a small party of explorers to about seventy-five millions (at the time the Indian revolts terminated), the native population decreased to about one-third of the number estimated to be here when the first whites arrived. Further, it is probably true that during these four centuries more than five million Indians lived and died in North America.

Because of the adventurous spirit of the times and because of contemporaneous association with the stirring actualities, from the belligerent's viewpoint, the early historical writers, inescapably, perhaps, designated the natives largely as they designated buffalo and horses—nameless, indistinguishable one from another.

The fact of the matter is that every Indian who ever lived had a name and definite (tribal) status, and when it is not lost sight of that the Indians by right of nativity owned America, it requires only fair-mindedness to understand that they had a measure of justification for

the steps they took to resist aggression, and to resist confiscation of their lands, even though upon occasion meager compensation was awarded them as they relinquished title to their hunting grounds.

It may not be improper to believe that rightful destiny intended that North America with all its vast resources should be opened to development, and that here was to be laid the foundation for an advanced civilization. Fairness, however, suggests that we should desire to learn about our country's original owners; that is, those found in possession when our forebears came here. Also, we should desire to have at hand records enabling us to form intelligent, impartial opinions of the respective behaviors of the naturally antagonistic races.

In retrospect, from the eminence of time four hundred years after the arrival of the first Europeans, we can perhaps fairly consider events as they occurred and conditions as they developed during the years of early conflict between the white men and the Indians.

It is evident in the pages of history that the view was presented that the early white settlers were peace-loving, God-fearing and kindly, with nought save good-will in their hearts, while the natives encountered were murderers and thieves at all times and on all occasions.

What was perhaps the earliest record of contact between European adventurers and the natives of the North American mainland, following the date of Columbus's discovery of the West Indies, and the explorations of the Cabots along the American coast, was that of the Portuguese explorer Gaspar Cortereal on his voyage to Labrador in 1501. In the late summer of

that year Cortereal anchored his two small ships in water of sea-way depth off the uninviting shore of bleak Labrador. In view of the fact that three years later Portuguese and French mariners established fisheries in these waters it may be concluded that Cortereal and his captains spent much of their time investigating the commercial possibilities so that reports carried home should contain estimates of a promising nature.

The Portuguese captains and sailors were successful in establishing friendly relations with the natives resident along the coast. When the time arrived to raise anchors and sail for home an organized round-up of natives was carried out with the result that fifty-seven of the protesting unfortunates were captured and forcibly carried on board the waiting vessels. In European ports at that time there was a profitable market for slaves and it was Cortereal's design to finance the cost of his expedition through the sale of muscle and sinew that could be trained to serve masters in need.

Fortunately or unfortunately his own ship was lost on the return journey. Cortereal, his sailors and all of the natives billeted in the dark hold were drowned. The second ship succeeded in reaching Portugal in October, 1501. Only seven of the natives remained alive to make the landing and to view wonderingly the strange sights of the old-world port.

Seven years later Aubert with two ships sailed from Dieppe, entering and exploring the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Again the friendship of the natives encountered was cultivated, but when the day of sailing arrived seven of the most likely physical specimens were captured and carried back to France. One can imagine the specula-

tions of the traders and procurers of the shipping ports as they knowingly appraised the usefulness and salability of stout limbed natives of the Americas—free for the taking.

It would not be possible within the scope of this work to recount all of the incidents similar to those cited which, during the early years of experience with armed adventurers who came over the horizon in white-winged ships, was surely, if slowly, to create in the minds of the American natives suspicion, resentment and hate. It was to be the Indians' discovery that there was no distinction between the various ships, the various flags, the various raiments and the various peoples represented. Whether the newcomers called themselves English, French, Spanish or Portuguese, to the Indians they all were alike in their designs. It was out of the early experiences with the palefaces that grew the distrust, suspicion and resentment which culminated in organized armed resistance on the part of the Indians, a resistance which in its fury and its results cost later settlers many millions of dollars and many thousands of lives.

Following Columbus' landfall in the Indies the direction of Spanish exploration led to Porto Rico, Haiti, Cuba and on to Central America, Mexico and Florida. When in the year 1513 the aging Ponce de Leon, of noble Spanish lineage, approached the Florida coast the sweet aroma of blooming magnolia trees wafted over the waters acted to confirm in his hopeful mind reports which had reached him in Porto Rico to the effect that somewhere hereabouts was situated a Fountain of Youth—the gardens of the Hesperides.

In his search he was, of course, disappointed. The

Indians, familiar with every rise, depression and hole in Florida, were frankly puzzled, and unable to give the Spaniard a clue to the hidden path which led to a bubbling fount of eternal youth. Disappointed, Ponce de Leon returned to Porto Rico, but eight years later returned to Florida to found a colony. He was outfitted with two ships, a numerous retinue of followers and considerable gear.

In the meantime, unfortunately for Juan Ponce, the Florida natives had received disturbing reports of Spanish cruelties practiced on the natives along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico by followers of Balboa, Miruelo, de Cordoba, Grijalva, Cortez and De Ayllon. They were resolved to oppose the landing of adventurers who brought with them fear and terror. Insisting upon landing, the Spaniards precipitated an engagement with the natives which resulted in the visitors' being repulsed. Several of Ponce's followers were killed and he himself was mortally wounded.

One can imagine fleet-footed forest runners carrying accounts of this experience far and wide among the tribes. North of Florida the country (later Georgia and South Carolina) was known to the Indians as Chicora and Gualdape, and to the natives of this territory in time came experience with Spanish cruelties and Spanish determination to enslave and exploit them. Some months prior to the repulse of Ponce, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, owner of extensive mines in Haiti, whose cruelties towards his native workmen had nearly exterminated the available supply, decided to replenish his forces by attacking and capturing American natives.

With this object in view two ships sailed from Haiti

in 1520, setting a course for Chicora. Upon arrival there De Ayllon's emissaries prevailed in rounding-up and capturing more than one hundred natives, who were loaded on board the ships and herded below. One of the ships, with all on board, was lost at sea on the return journey, and it is questionable whether those on the other vessel who arrived at the mines, or those who found graves in the deep, were most to be pitied.

Little imagination is required to visualize the mourning and the desolation left in the wake of this wholesale deportation. Behind them the warriors forced into slavery left wives, sisters, mothers and comrades of the trails. Behind them also came into being increasing resentment, fierce hatred and perhaps the first need experienced by these people for concerted thinking looking to self-preservation. That there was cooperative thought and planning was manifested five years later when De Ayllon with six ships and a large armed force sailed to Chicora for human replacements. On this occasion a reception was arranged for him which in its details of disposition brought quick death to two hundred of the armed men. Numerous others escaped to the forests coming to no less miserable ends, while one hundred and fifty managed to reach the vessels, in the course of time reaching Haiti. Among those to escape seaward was De Ayllon, but he was severely wounded and died shortly thereafter.

Spanish historical papers of the time disclose that the Court at Madrid had commissioned De Ayllon chief magistrate of the proposed colony of Chicora, and that on this second slave-gathering foray the adventurer planned to set up an establishment as a step toward tak-

ing over control of the country and its inhabitants. Had he succeeded, this would have been the first established settlement of Europeans on American soil. Had not retributive justice overtaken him at the outset there is little doubt that any form of settlement he may have been qualified to establish would soon have become a scene of unending conflict with the outraged natives.

In Spain the enthusiasm for exploration and adventure in the Indies developed largely as a result of envisioned profit from the acquisition of gold and precious stones, and from the procurement for sale of slaves. In this conception of the prospects for profit and gain the Spaniards and the Portuguese were in accord. The landfall of the Portuguese, Cortereal, in 1500 and 1501, between 60° and 50° N., was given the name of Labrador because after the expedition returned to Portugal the captains painted in glowing terms the possibilities of that land as a source of stout-limbed laborers.

The year before the American natives of Chicora expelled De Ayllon from their home lands, De Ayllon's compatriot, Esteban Gomez, sailed up the Atlantic coast in search of the illusory Northwest Passage, in which emprise he was, of course, unsuccessful. Gomez' disappointment was tempered when at a landing he came upon an Indian village with a considerable population. Without parley or other formality he had his armed followers seize "a cargo of Indians" for transport abroad to be sold as slaves.

Seven years after Ponce de Leon's ill-fated expedition to Florida, Pamfilo de Narvaez with three hundred armed followers and a cargo of horses landed on the west side of the present Bay of Tampa. Here he came

upon an Indian village, the natives living contentedly in wigwams suitable to the mild climate. Nowhere in the old manuscripts is there indication that Narvaez made any attempt to establish friendly relations with the natives. On the contrary, the records support the conclusion that his attitude toward the Indians was identical with that displayed by his predecessors and contemporaries who descended upon these shores to plunder and to enslave. The policy of force and brutality which he followed, in the end brought about his own undoing.

To impress the natives with respect for his power Narvaez captured one of the chiefs and caused his nose to be cut off as a warning to the others that his wishes must be obeyed. The Spaniards had brought several bloodhounds from Cuba and these Narvaez caused to attack and tear to pieces an Indian mother in the presence of her children. This, we must agree, was not a promising way of inviting hospitality.

From the natives the Spaniards learned of a neighboring village named Apalachee, situated some distance inland. Suspecting, or hoping, that at this place might be found precious metals or precious stones to plunder, Narvaez with his men marched in that direction, forcing several of the natives to act as guides. Arriving at Apalachee, a peaceful village of forty thatch-roofed huts in the midst of scattered fields of growing maize or Indian corn, the Spaniards were disappointed in finding nothing worth stealing except provisions for themselves and their horses.

The warriors of the tribe upon approach of the Spaniards had retired beyond the fields, taking with them only their bows and arrows. As the invaders at first

made no hostile demonstrations the warriors returned to be near their women and children. In the sign language the natives made offers of friendship and hospitality; but Narvaez promptly seized the head chief, holding him as hostage. Naturally enraged at this action the natives burned their huts to the ground and escaped with their families to the cornfields and the forests.

Then began a nine days' journey toward the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, during which the Indian guides, forced to the task, led the Spaniards through morasses, lakes, rivers, swamps and deep forests, the invaders at all points exposed to the arrows of expert bowmen who hung upon their flanks and rear, determined to rid their country of the arrogant despoilers.

We are not here concerned with the further miseries which befell Narvaez and his followers. Suffice it to relate that only one or two members of his retinue survived the vicissitudes of this expedition. Narvaez, himself, perished in the Gulf of Mexico.

Eleven years later the Spanish explorer, De Soto, sailed from Cuba with a fleet of nine vessels and about one thousand followers, also supplies of horses, mules, cattle, swine and bloodhounds. Arriving at Tampa Bay he was met by a powerful Muscogee, or Creek, Indian chief named Acuera, who informed him that the visit of Narvaez had not been forgotten and that the Spaniards not only were not welcome but must leave the country. Then followed numerous engagements at arms in which, ambushed, and in night attacks, the Spaniards lost many of their men.

De Soto cut his way through the Indian country and

wintered at what later became Tallahassee. In March following he journeyed northward along the Savannah River to an Indian village located in the region which became South Carolina. Here reigned a young and comely Indian maiden as queen. In a richly wrought canoe filled with shawls and tanned skins, the dusky queen crossed the river to where De Soto's entourage was encamped. She presented him with various treasures, including a string of pearls which she removed from around her own neck and placed over the head of the Spanish leader. He and his followers then crossed the river in canoes, and a bountiful feast of venison and wild turkey meat was prepared and served to them.

In typical Spanish fashion of the time De Soto rewarded the young queen's hospitality by carrying her away a prisoner as hostage. Ultimately she escaped and returned to her village, disillusioned, and thereafter continued a redoubtable enemy of white invaders.

At the time De Soto blustered through the country the American natives had a considerable village at Chiaha, the site of Rome, Georgia, of later times. The Spaniards remained as guests of the young chief at Chiaha for thirty days, De Soto being presented with a string of pearls "two yards in length," and his followers accorded hospitality which must have been agreeable inasmuch as the command remained at the place an entire month. No doubt the Spaniards made the belated discovery that the natives were not savages if treated civilly: that they became militant and dangerous only when common decency was outraged.

Leaving Chiaha the Spaniards marched toward what is now northeastern Alabama, to the country of the

Coosa Indians. This was in July, 1540. The Coosa chief was a young man, less than thirty years of age. As De Soto and his command neared the village of the Coosa tribe, they were met at the outskirts of the settlement by the chief, with a thousand warriors at his heels. The chief was clad in a mantle of marten skins thrown over one shoulder, and on his head a bonnet festooned with brilliant feathers. He was carried in a chair mounted on a small platform borne on the stout shoulders of four of his lieutenants. The warriors were well-proportioned, tall, active, wore scanty garments as suited the climate, and each was topped-off with a gay feathered head-dress.

The Coosas gave De Soto and his followers a royal welcome. As the commands joined forces and began the march toward the village the natives played tribal tunes on flutes of native design, chanted songs of welcome and did all they could think of to impress the visitors favorably. The chief's large habitation was set apart for De Soto, and the two leaders dined together daily.

Evidently the natives concluded that reports which had reached them from tribes to the south, to the effect that the Spaniards were ravagers, bent only upon pillage and destruction, were perhaps exaggerations. Either this or the Spanish commander had altered his attitude toward the natives after discovering that their warriors were men, unafraid, and quite capable of defending and protecting their women and children, even against invaders rigged out in coats of mail, and wearing breast-plates and metal helmets. In addition to these protective habiliments De Soto and his men were equipped

with strong shields, swords, lances and arquebuses, European crossbows of the period, and a small cannon.

The Coosas had storage granaries filled with harvested corn, and their cultivated fields abounded with plums, grapes, and various other fruits and vegetables. It was a country to attract the attention of the Spaniards. Indeed, the Coosa chief invited De Soto to establish a Spanish colony in the neighborhood so that each race might benefit from the knowledge and industry of the other.

De Soto's thoughts were on other matters. Many subtle inquiries he made were designed to learn the whereabouts of gold and precious stones. Uppermost in his mind was the hope that he might uncover hiding-places in which these forms of wealth were stored. In these respects he hoped for success such as attended the forays of his compatriots in Mexico and Peru nearly a quarter of a century earlier, when Spaniards carried death and destruction to the natives of those countries.

Having lived upon the hospitality of the Coosas for a time, and having concluded that this was simply an agricultural people without knowledge of precious metals, De Soto decided to journey to Manbila, the headquarters of the Mobilian tribe, situated about twenty-five miles above the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers.

With his retinue arrayed for the march, De Soto, in typically Spanish fashion, secured the person of the Coosa chief, retaining him as a hostage and to serve as guide. Hospitality was repaid by deceit and cruelty. Numerous of the Coosa natives were captured to serve as slaves and burden-bearers on the march. Both men

and women were burdened with chains to prevent their escape to the forests, and thus the march was continued through the country which later became Alabama. At Tallase, a large town, the habitation of numerous natives, the Coosa chief was released to return to his own village, where we may well believe the account he gave of his terrible treatment engendered hates which in the years to come accounted for native hostility toward white immigrants and settlers from the British Isles.

On his march southward De Soto entered the country of the Mobilians, whose head chief was Tuscaloosa, known as the Black Warrior. The chief at this time was a man of forty years of age; handsome of face, grave, and a head taller than any of his warriors. Having learned from native runners the true character of the Spaniards, Tuscaloosa received De Soto with haughty courtesy. Although he consented to act as guide to the Spaniards on their southward journey he took precautions to have his warriors maintain themselves in a state of readiness, and for the time being to remain out of reach of the Spanish arms. It was in October, 1540, when De Soto and Tuscaloosa rode into the Mobilian capital. A celebration was staged in honor of their arrival. There was singing, the playing of flutes, and groups of dancing girls disported themselves in the square.

In this instance De Soto soon discovered that the natives were on guard. Within the stoutly walled village on all sides were signs of preparedness. Restraint on the part of the natives gave way when a Spaniard disemboweled a chief with his sword. This act released the fury of the natives, precipitating a ferocious battle which

continued without abatement for nine hours. In the wild scenes of carnage which followed, eighty-two of De Soto's men perished, and forty-five of his horses were slain. In addition, practically all of the Spaniards' supplies were destroyed or rendered useless. Of the natives it was recorded that thousands of them were killed or wounded.

It was weeks before De Soto was able to restore his wounded and form the remainder of his force into a safe marching unit. This accomplished, late in November he set forth on a journey northward, where on the shores of the Black Warrior River he had to fight his way through the lands of the Choctaws, where he encountered thousands of native warriors armed with primitive fighting implements. At length, much exhausted, his command reached the headwaters of the Yazoo River, where he encamped near the village of Chickasa, the capital of the tribe bearing that name. Here, a state of armed neutrality between the Spaniards and the Chickasas continued until the following March. The natives were inclined to friendliness, but knowing of the treachery of the Spaniards gave the latter no opportunity to precipitate hostilities.

The inevitable occurred when De Soto demanded two hundred men to serve as porters. At once the natives attacked, carrying death to forty of De Soto's party, and killing fifty of the Spaniards' remaining horses. Continuing northwestward, encountering native reprisals all along the way, it was in April, 1541, that De Soto and his depleted command discovered the Mississippi River. For a year, then, he explored the country westward almost to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, and upon

his return to the shores of the Mississippi, died of a fever, in May, 1542. He was then forty-two years of age. But three hundred and twenty men remained of De Soto's army of conquest numbering one thousand men.

CHAPTER II

FRENCH NAVIGATOR DESCRIBES NATIVES

ARRIVAL OF FRENCH EXPLORERS. ALGONQUIN. HURON. DONNACONA. AGONA. LENNI-LENAPE. DELAWARE. LAPPAWINSOE.

CHAPTER II

FRENCH NAVIGATOR DESCRIBES NATIVES

IN OCTOBER, 1523, five years before the Spanish adventurer, Narvaez landed at Tampa Bay, the King of France outfitted an expedition to America under the command of the Florentine, Verrazano. In March of the following year Verrazano landed not far from what later was named Cape Fear, on the south Atlantic coast. Here were found natives whom the explorer described as black-skinned, naked excepting a girdle of grass from which depended a marten skin, their thick, black hair worn tied back on the head. The natives displayed no hostility, but rather gave many evidences of friendliness. Somewhat farther north Verrazano encountered natives of fairer complexion, their bodies covered with light draperies made of what was perhaps Spanish moss, woven with threads of wild hemp, living in huts constructed of small trees and shrubbery. For transport along the rivers these natives used dug-out log canoes.

Here again seeds were sown for lasting enmity against the whites. A native boy was captured to be taken back to France as a specimen. All up the Atlantic coast Verrazano encountered numerous natives. On Narragansett Bay he found what he reported as a superior tribe, well-formed, stately, friendly, and dressed in tanned skins, many of whom wore necklaces of precious or semi-precious stones. This country then, as

now, abounded in apples, plums, nuts and various other edible fruits. The dwellings of split logs were circular in form and some of these were sufficiently large to house thirty persons. The natives encountered along the Massachusetts and Maine coasts were cautious and shy. The explorer saw no signs of domestic cultivation; the natives apparently living on the meat products of the forests and rivers.

The fact is that the account given by Verrazano of the natives encountered by him along the New Jersey coast in 1524 constitutes the earliest report of the Indians living in that diversified, bountiful section of the country. Here were fish, game, fruits, forests, lakes, rivers, valleys, hills, with, nearby, a long line of ocean frontage. In a territory which in modern times includes Atlantic City, Asbury Park and a hundred other shore resorts which have become national playgrounds because of desirable climate and sandy shores, it may be concluded that the American natives of the eastern section of the country preempted and occupied the choice land as reward for ability to capture and hold.

With the spelling modernized the following is an abstract from Verrazano's report:

"As we used their gestures they came near us and we cast them bells and glasses, as well as toys which they looked on with laughter and came near us, coming aboard ship without fear. They are of as goodly shape and stature as is possible to declare. One man of about forty years wore a hart's skin wrought with divers fibers like damask. His hair was tied with divers knots. About his neck he had a large chain, garnished with stones of various colors. Another man of twenty years was arrayed in a similar manner. This is the goodliest people and the fairest, and in the best condition we have found

on this voyage. They exceed ourselves in bigness. They are of the color of brass; some inclined more to whiteness; others are of a yellow color, of comely visage, with long black hair which they are careful to trim and deck up. Their eyes are black and quick, of a sweet and pleasant countenance. The women are of like conformity and beauty; very handsome and well-favored, of pleasant countenance and comely to behold. They are as well mannered and continent as any women. They wear at their middles deer skin coverings, branched or embroidered, and some wear over their arms rich lynx skins. Some wear ornamental arrangements of their own hair, braids hanging down on each side of the head. Others, the older ones, dress themselves like unto the women of Egypt and Syria."

In this early European glimpse of the Amerindians, as they have come to be called, is presented a plain picture of a simple people, of a high type physically, but who had made little material progress beyond that necessary to live easily in a bountiful country.

New Jersey, or Scheyichbi, Sche'-jach-bi (Shak-a-bee), as the Indians called it, was inhabited by the Lenni-Lenape people who according to their traditions had come from the north. The name Lenape is found in various spellings, such as Lenapys, Lenopi, and Leonopy. Lenni means "original" or "pure," and Lenape "people." Among neighboring tribes they were recognized as the original people. With pride and enthusiasm the warriors would cry out: "Husca n' lenape win," meaning "Truly I a lenape am." Tribal divisions of the Lenape were known as the Minsi, Unami, and Unilachtigo or Wonalachtigo. The Minsi, Wemintheiw, Monseys, Montheys, Musees or Minnisinks occupied the northern portion of Scheyichbi. Their

headquarters was at Dingman's Ferry on the Delaware River.

In what became Union County, New Jersey, the Unami, Wenanmeiw, and Wanami as well as the Wonameyo, who called themselves "The people down the river," maintained tribal headquarters near Trenton. The last renowned chief and leader of this aggregation was Teedyuskung.

Along the Atlantic shore the Unilachtigo, Umalachtike or Wanolachtigo held sway, with headquarters on Cooper's Creek.

According to Greuter's map of 1532 the Indians occupying the lands immediately west of the Hudson River in New Jersey were known as the Sanawanooks. Undoubtedly these were Shawnees (Shawnoese), who extended a sort of gypsy-like influence all the way down to the Carolinas.

From the time of the first European contact with the natives of New Jersey nearly a century elapsed until the arrival of the Dutch settlers. The maps and records made by the Hollanders add much dependable information about the Indian inhabitants. The discovery of the Muhheakunnuk (Hudson River) found Mohegans in the lower Hudson valley, and Lenape in adjacent New Jersey. The Dutch referred to the latter as Delawares, even though the Lenape objected to the change in name. An account which appears authentic indicates that Lord Delaware had visited Lenape Indians near Trenton, which people later were visited by the Dutch. In reply to inquiry as to the name of the tribe the Indian spokesman informed the Dutchman: "We are N'dellowe Lenape." Actually, "N'dellowe" implied emphasis, or

"I tell you we are Lenape." Later when the Dutch representative encountered Lord Delaware he informed that colonizer that he had come upon a tribe of Indians that knew of Delaware's fame and had called themselves after him—the Delaware Lenape. Thus, notwithstanding that the Lenape were quite innocent in the matter, thereafter the name Delawares came to include a widespread and powerful aggregation of Indians.

In New Jersey, at the mouth of the Raritan River the Dutch found the Aquamachukes, related to the Aquackanonks situated in the Passaic valley. There were also the Narritacongs, Raritacongs or Raritans.

In central New Jersey, near Cranford, the name Noluns Mohegan appears as that of Indians living in that neighborhood, while north of Newark resided the Ackinckesaky (Hackensaks).

Along the New Jersey shore approaching New York harbor, and at times on Staten Island, appeared the Newesinghs, Neshannocks, Monotans, and the Manhattans. The Dutch records give an informative insight into the dress and customs of the Indians of New Jersey. The absence here as elsewhere in America of very large Indian villages is clearly accounted for by lack of sanitary conditions. Villages were located along streams and near springs. The inhabitants of a village usually numbered less than forty. A wickam (later wigwam) or house was usually about sixteen by thirty feet in ground area; had rounded roof, with the ridge running the long way. In the construction saplings were drawn together at the tops, chestnut bark being fastened to the sides and roof. Occasionally elk skins were used as covering, and cornstalks were stacked along the outside

to give added warmth in winter. In the center was a fire-pit and in the roof an opening for the escape of smoke. At the entrance a large tanned skin was fastened to serve as a door. Inside, along the walls were fitted elevated, wood benches which served as seats and as couches.

There is in existence a rare portrait of the renowned Delaware chief, Lappawinsoe, a signer of the celebrated "walking purchase" treaty of 1737, by which was ceded to the proprietors of Pennsylvania an extensive tract of land stretching along the Delaware River from the Neshamany to the Water Gap and westward "as far as a man could walk in a day and a half." The white men performed the walking task at a pace of which the Indians loudly complained. No doubt the "walk" was performed at a Marathon pace, and the guileless Indians learned a new trick.

In the month of May, 1534, six years after the arrival at Tampa Bay of Narvaez, the Spaniard, the French explorer Jacques Cartier arrived on the North Atlantic coast in the neighborhood of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. And here we may record a transaction which in its significance contains an explanation of why the French for two hundred years thereafter were more successful than other Europeans in living on friendly terms with the natives residing in the territory they occupied.

In Newfoundland, Labrador, Cape Breton and Gaspé, Cartier established friendly relations with the Indians. Indicative of the favorable impression made, it is history that one of the Indian chiefs permitted two of his sons to accompany Cartier on the return journey across the ocean to distant France, accepting the French

explorer's promise that the youths should be brought back the following year. In the interim the Indian boys had learned to speak passable French, so that when in 1535 Cartier returned to America they were qualified to serve as interpreters. Cartier on this occasion proceeded up the St. Lawrence to the large village of Stadacona (Quebec), which was the tribal headquarters of the Algonquin chief, Donnacona. At Stadacona and at Hochelaga (Montreal) Cartier was given a friendly welcome. He was recognized as a man of honor in whom the natives might have trust and confidence. At Hochelaga, Cartier found a village of fifty dwellings, many of them one hundred feet in length and twenty-five feet wide, in which were partitioned off numerous rooms. The roofs of these habitations were substantially covered with slabs of bark firmly joined in place. Storage space for supplies of corn was provided in attics above the rooms. The village was circular in form and was protected against assault by stout stockades and ramparts about thirty feet in height through which there was but one gate. The Huron chief at Hochelaga allowed Cartier to take the pretty daughter of one of the sub-chiefs with him for a visit to France.

Returning from Hochelaga toward the sea Cartier stopped for a day in Donnacona's domain, and here an act was committed which may have had a laudable purpose in view but which in time turned out to be of serious disadvantage to French prestige. Donnacona and nine of his chiefs were invited on board ship to a feast, where they were detained and taken to France. Five years later when Cartier returned to America he was unable to bring the borrowed Indians with him because

of the fact that they had died in France. He did, however, bring back the maiden taken on board at Hoche-laga, and she was returned to her father together with presents of gaudy clothing direct from Paris. There was jubilation among the Hurons and in that locality, at least, Cartier's status remained unchanged.

At Stadacona a different and serious situation quite naturally developed when it was learned that Donnacona was no more. His successor as chief of the Algonquins, chief Agona, became very angry and the Frenchmen were allowed to shift for themselves, as a result of which during the following winter they suffered great hardships. French explorers, adventurers and churchmen who came to America in following years were successful as colonists, endeavoring to establish mutually helpful relations with the tribes found to be in possession of the country. This attitude differed markedly from that of the Spanish adventurers toward the Creeks, Coosas, Choctaws and Mobilians. The ruthlessness of the Spaniards in their insatiable greed for gold invalidated any overtures they may have made toward the natives.

CHAPTER III

ENGLISH NAVIGATORS ENCOUNTER NATIVES

MANTEO. WANCHESE. WINGINI. ENSENORE. INDIAN
"KINGS." POWHATAN. NANSEMOND. MASSAWOMECK.
POTAMAC. SUSQUEHANNA. RAPPAHANOCK. MANNA-
HOCK. TOCKWOGH. APPOMATOX. MONACAN. OPECH-
ANCANOUGH. SAMOSET. NAUSET. ASPINET. MASSASOIT.
SQUANTO. TOKAMAHAMON. IYANOUGH. WITTUWAMET.
PESKUOT. CONECONAM. NIPMUC. ABENAKI. TAR-
RATINE. WAMPANOAG. NARRAGANSET. CANONICUS.
PHILIP. PEQUOT. MOHEGAN. UNCAS. SASSACUS. MIAN-
TONOMO. NIAN TIC. MAUWEE. SASSAMON. CANONCHET.
MOHEGAN. MOHAWK. IROQUOIS. LENNI-LENAPE.
ESOPUS. HACKENSACK. RARITAN. NINEGRET

CHAPTER III

ENGLISH NAVIGATORS ENCOUNTER NATIVES

IT TOOK the American natives some time to become accustomed to being called Indians. Prior to the arrival on these shores of the first explorers the natives were somewhat loosely grouped in "nations," tribes and bands, their domiciles situated in particular parts of the country. The name "Indians" was first given the natives from the notion that the newly discovered continent formed part of India, and although it was learned within a few years that America was an entirely separate continent removed by great expanses of ocean from distant India, the name was not changed to "Americans" or "Amerindians" as it should have been.

It was characteristic of the early Indians that rarely did they resent arrival in their villages of one or two white men, or of small parties. Because of the very nature of their existence Indian villages were Indian war camps, and Indian war camps were Indian villages—the women and children were there. Being human the Indians quite naturally questioned the purpose of armed visitors. The natives got along as well with the first European adventurers and with the first settlers from abroad as it was possible to get along where there were no neutral policemen, judges, or courts to adjust disputes. Aside from greed and villainy on the part of individuals on both sides, the dispute between the whites

and the Indians was mainly about the ownership of land. The Indians were not mollycoddles. Able-bodied fighting men with families to support should not have been expected to remain passive when the white propaganda took the form of "move on," "get out."

From the beginning there were obvious natural obstacles to the absorption of the Indians by the whites. They were destined to remain separate peoples. This, notwithstanding that there were notable exceptions. John Rolfe, an Englishman, in 1614, married the Indian maid, Pocahontas. On a visit to England this Indian princess made a very favorable impression, but, unfortunately, she contracted illness there within a year and died at the age of twenty-two. She left one son.

The foothold established in Virginia by the English colonists, which had its beginning in the year 1584, variously under the leadership of Sir Walter Raleigh, Christopher Newport, John Smith, and others, was not secure until about the year 1610. The party which arrived at Roanoke Island in 1584 labored under the disadvantage of the bad reputation with the natives acquired by the Spanish adventurers farther south some years previously. The natives, knowing little or nothing of Old-World geography, for a time had but one classification for all Europeans—all were "pale-faces."

Following the landing in 1584 the visitors saw no natives until the third day, when three were observed in a canoe. Later, on shore, members of the English party approached one of these natives. It was recorded that the Indian showed no fear, but "spoke much to them," then went boldly on board one of the ships. There, he was given some European clothing, whereupon he

"went away and in half an hour had loaded his canoe with fish," which he brought to the English.

These English visitors, who were brought over by the voyagers, Amidas and Barlow, sailed for home after remaining about six weeks, taking with them natives named Manteo and Wanchese. It was upon the return of these excursionists to England that Queen Elizabeth named the new country Virginia, because, as one writer put it: "It still seemed to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation, and the people their primitive innocence of life and manners." Others said the naming was a tribute to herself, as the virgin queen.

The following year Sir Richard Grenville, with a fleet of seven ships sailed for Virginia. While on a foray through the region adjacent to Roanoke in search of whatever might be discovered of value to him, Grenville carelessly exposed his commodities, tempting a native to appropriate a small silver cup, in punishment for which the English leader burned a village. Here, at the beginning of English colonization in America an auspicious opportunity to begin in the right manner was lost. Grenville returned to England within the year, leaving a colony of one hundred and eight men with Ralph Lane as Governor and Captain Philip Amidas as Lieutenant-Governor. These men made several excursions into the surrounding country in search of precious metals, requiring the natives to pilot them around. The Indian chief, Wingini, bore the provocations of the visitors until the death of the old chief, Ensenore, his father. Under the pretense of honoring the funeral of the old chief, Wingini assembled eighteen hundred of his people for the occasion. The English, anticipating

attack, fell upon the natives, killing several of them. Some time later Wingini was trapped by the English, and slain, with eight of his chief men.

It was Thomas Hariot, historian of Lane's company, who reported that the conduct of Lane and his company in this fruitless attempt to establish themselves in Virginia was, in the highest degree, reprehensible. They put to death some of the natives on the most frivolous charges, and "no wonder they were driven out of the country, as they ought to have been."

Sir Francis Drake, returning from high emprise in the Spanish Main in 1586, "looked in" on the Roanoke colonists so that he might report their condition to his friend Raleigh, in England, upon his return there. The plight of the colonists, and their appeals that he take them on board, resulted in the colony being abandoned for the time being.

Wingini, of the Roanoke Island neighborhood, was one of the earliest Indian chieftains to have conferred upon him the absurd title of King. In later years there were King Hendrik, King Philip, and numerous others, so styled. The early European voyagers to America conferred the title upon natives who appeared most prominent. One of the early historians expressed the view that a main reason for the designation was that the exploits of the voyagers were magnified in the eyes of rulers and government functionaries in Europe when conquests were reported of "many kings of an unknown country." The authority of Indian chiefs differed markedly from that of most of the Old World kings. Although there were instances where chiefships were hereditary, the custom was not general. A son taking

the place of his father as chief in most instances had to measure up to the requirements of the time.

It was the view of a chronicler of the seventeenth century that: "A chief could neither restrain the meanest fellow of his nation from the commission of a crime, nor punish him after he had committed it. He might persuade or advise, all the good Indian king or chief can do." Doubtless, throughout the centuries, circumstances, and individual natures and abilities determined the power and sway of Indian chiefs. In the Iroquois Confederacy each tribe had eight sachems and eight chiefs; the sachems having civil authority, the chiefs, direction in war and battle. A sachem (Algonquin "sakema") was sometimes a hereditary chieftain, and sometimes his accession to the office was due to prowess in war or statecraft. He could be deposed, but while in office the authority he customarily exercised was respected.*

Following the English attempt of 1584-5-6, to establish a colony at Roanoke Island, Virginia, the next landing having promise of success was that heralded by the arrival of three ships in April, 1607, in command of captains Christopher Newport, Bartholomew Gosnold and John Ratcliffe, with whom came also the enterpris-

*The title *sachem* was employed more generally by the Indians in the northeastern states; the title *sagamore*, more generally in the southeastern states. *Sachem* is the way early English arrivals rendered the Indian word *sakema* or *sachemo*. During early Spanish tenure in Florida and neighboring territory, the title *casique* was used to designate Indian chieftains. It was variously rendered, *casique*, *cazique*, *cassique* and *cazic*, in early manuscripts. The Spanish navigators noted the word in use in Haiti to designate chiefs. The Spaniards used the term on the American mainland, applying it in each locality to single out the head man. On return voyages to Spain the explorers explained that the title *casique* referred to princes or chieftains among the native Americans.

ing John Smith. With them came one hundred and forty adventurers, or colonists, or whatever classification may be assigned them as a group or as individuals. In addition there were some two-score members of the ships' crews.

The subject of present interest is the condition of the Indians of the Virginia region at the time of the 1607 arrivals, and the experiences of the Indians with the new colonists. It was the territory of the Powhatan confederation of tribes. Powhatan (Waukunsenecaw), the ruler of this aggregation of natives, lived in a lodge which was about one hundred feet long, having three chambers. He had a considerable headquarters' establishment at Werowcomoco, on the York River. The natives had dogs, corn, tobacco, maple sugar, peas, cakes of hominy, and fruits, vegetables, and various cereals. They used bows and arrows in battle and in the chase. They had stone tomahawks, stone skinning tools and other implements. They had tanned buffalo and deer hides for clothing and other uses. They used torches of resin, and had bridges across small rivers, which although of flimsy construction would carry three or four persons at a time.

In the territory surrounding the colonial settlement at Jamestown, and along the rivers in adjacent territory, numerous tribes and bands of natives occupied lands, including the Nansemonds, Massawomecks, Potamacs, Susquehannas, Rappahannocks, Mannahocks, Tockwoghs and the Appomatox people, also the Monacans, which latter were enemies of Powhatan.

The intrepid and resourceful John Smith played an important part in the affairs of this colony during its

early years, and no matter which account one may read about the endeavors of the colonists to establish a going community, alternately comes to the surface or appears between the lines the fact that there was a prolonged battle of wits between Smith and Powhatan, in which, in the end (between these two) Powhatan won. It was Powhatan's desire to get rid of the Englishmen, for which purpose he had immediately available seven hundred warriors.

In general the natives were at all times adequately supplied with the necessities of life, while the colonists, to a considerable extent dependent upon supplies from England, lived through varying periods of feast or famine. In July, 1609, seven ships from England arrived with five hundred colonists, not all selected in view of the peculiar conditions obtaining in the new country. There being insufficient accommodations for all of the newcomers, and insufficient provisions, many of them were ordered to scatter "and live on the country." Most of these people would have starved had it not been for the deer meat and corn they were given by the Indians, and took from the Indians by force. In October of that year Smith, ill and disabled, was sent home. By the following spring but sixty of the five hundred new arrivals remained alive. Disease and starvation had used them up, and the Indians, by this time, possessed most of their muskets, swords and knives!

Additional colonists arrived in June, 1610, among whom was John Rolfe, and in August six ships arrived with three hundred colonists, one hundred head of cattle, and a store of provisions. There followed then for

a dozen years sporadic wars and battles in which both the colonists and the natives suffered heavily, but succeeding waves of colonists arriving, in time created a situation wherein it became plain to the Indians that the pale-faces were in America to remain. By the year 1622 the powerful and cautious chief, Powhatan, had passed away. In his place ruled his younger brother, Opechancanough, whose warriors in arms numbered fifteen hundred. There were approximately six thousand Indians living on lands within sixty miles of the settlement at Jamestown. Opechancanough had personal grievances against certain of the settlers; and the natives at large, feeling the pressure of the expanding colony into the tribal lands, prepared to oppose by force the infiltration of the whites. Skirmishes and battles ensued, and in the early stages of the war approximately three hundred and fifty of the colonists were slain. By this year the population and power of the Jamestown colony had increased considerably.

The counter-offensive immediately organized by the Virginians wrought havoc with the natives, and when the muskets, spears, swords and tomahawks had done their work, less than one thousand Indians remained in the Jamestown territory. Among the natives who escaped the wrath of the colonists was Opechancanough, and it was inevitable that watchful hostility should continue. Thus matters remained until 1644, when Opechancanough, then past ninety years of age, formed a confederacy of the warriors along the rivers and in the hinterland, and when ready attacked the settlers in the valleys of the York and Pamunkey Rivers. The attack continued two days, during which time three hundred

of the colonists were slain. But, as was the outburst of twenty-two years before, this uprising accomplished little, if anything, for the natives. Retribution was swift and deadly, and when the firing ceased and the smoke had cleared away the old Powhatan Confederacy had gone the way of all obstructionists to the westward shift of empire.

Opechancanough was taken prisoner and was brought before the Governor at Jamestown. The chief's great age and the fatigue of the late campaign rendered him almost helpless. Treacherously and needlessly shot by a guard, the old leader lay on the damp earth unable to raise his eyelids. Hearing the murmurs of the curious crowd which had gathered around to gaze upon the once mighty warrior, he asked one near him to raise his eyelids so that he might see and address the Governor. This done, he directed his gaze toward the white leader, and said: "Had it been my fortune to capture the governor of the English I would not meanly have exposed him as a show to my people." Worn and tired, the old man stretched out full-length on the earth he had fought for, passing on to join his forebears.

Meanwhile, another portentous landing had been made by Englishmen. This time on the Massachusetts coast. In the well-known painting by Sargent, picturing the "Landing of the Pilgrims," the Indian, Samoset, is shown in an attitude of humility approaching the group of Pilgrims after they had reached the shore. But, when the landing occurred in December, 1620, no natives were on hand to greet the *Mayflower's* passengers.

After the *Mayflower* arrived upon the New England

coast it was about a month before a place of landing for the entire party had been selected. In the meantime the passengers remained on board ship, with the exception that shore parties of about a dozen men landed to study the situation. Six days after the ship anchored five or six natives were seen, but there was no interchange with them. About a month after the arrival of the ship, at a place called by the Indians, Namskeket, a shore party was engaged in a bloodless affray with what it appeared was a small band of the Nauset Indians under a chief having the name of Aspinet. Following an exchange of musket balls and arrows, at too long a range to be deadly, the natives retired and disappeared. Several days later the ship's passengers were landed. Four days after the landing a party of four or five Indians blundered upon the encampment, but upon perceiving the visitors, decamped from view.

It was about the middle of March, 1621, that Samoset appeared at Plymouth. About a week later Massasoit arrived. Samoset was master of a smattering of English which he had learned from English sailors. A companion of his, Squanto, also could speak English, he having been one of a party which was taken to England some time previously by an exploring mariner. Other natives encountered by the Pilgrims during these first weeks were Tokamahamon, Iyanough, Wittuwamet, Peskuot, and Coneconam.

The absence of numerous Indians on the Massachusetts coast at the time of arrival of the Pilgrims was learned to be a result of a devastating sickness or plague which decimated the populace throughout the region extending from Narragansett Bay to Penobscot, during

the years 1617, 1618 and 1619. One early fatalist did not allow the opportunity to pass to observe that "Multitudes of the barbarous heathen had been destroyed to make way for the chosen people of God."

Prior to the arrival of the Pilgrims, in 1620, Massasoit's people had been raided by the Tarratines, which included the Nipmucs and Abenakis. The Tarratines had also been engaged in a war with the tribes west of the Pascataqua. These internecine struggles, doubtless, contributed toward reducing the numbers of the Indians living along the coast.

It is to be remembered that the colonists who came on the *Mayflower* were the Pilgrims. They had separated from the Church of England prior to emigration; the Puritans had not. They became respectively, the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies—"the Pilgrims at Plymouth, the Puritans at Boston."

At the time of the landing of the Pilgrims, the whites having by chance landed in a neighborhood of ill-repute with the natives, there was for the time at least little cause for hostility or enmity on the part of Massasoit, head of the Wampanoags, or his people. Indeed, at the signing of the treaty of peace, in March, 1621, the aged chief, pointing a lean finger toward the surrounding country, orated, "Englishmen, take possession of the land, for there is no one left to occupy it. The Great Spirit came in his anger and swept the people from the face of the earth." This treaty was observed for many years thereafter. Some time later a similar treaty was concluded with the Narragansets, under Chief Canonicus.

Aggression and encroachment, in time, on the part of

the whites produced Indian resentment. In the time of "King" Philip, all New England was in the throes of intense warfare. At that time, 1675, there were fifty thousand whites and thirty thousand Indians in that territory. Treaties and purchases as well as the encroachments of squatters left the natives without the wide sweeps of elbow-room to which for centuries they had been accustomed.

During the reign of Charles I, in England, 1625-1649, the people of that country passed through many vicissitudes due to intrigues on the part of the Crown, and to religious disputes between various factions. It was the desire to seek a land where there should be the possibility of freedom of worship that caused the first group of Puritans to escape to Holland, and thence to migrate to America. Twenty-one thousand colonists from England came to America between the years 1630 and 1641, settling mainly on the Massachusetts coast and in Virginia, known respectively as the Puritans and the Cavaliers.

The almost continuous bitter warfare between these colonists and the American natives has, in formal national histories, given the impression that the conflict was a result of the Indian desire to kill. Pictures we saw in childhood depicting God-fearing colonists setting forth to battle against the red savages carrying a Bible in one hand and a musket in the other, served to create this understanding.

Keeping in mind that the people of any given generation are pretty much alike in their outlook on life, their social qualities, their ambitions, and their attitudes toward the principle of "Live and let live," it is informing

to refer for a moment to conditions obtaining in the country from which the English colonists came.

Those who remember their English history will recall that during the reign of Charles I, and of Oliver Cromwell, who followed Charles, England, Scotland and Ireland were pretty much of a shambles. The Earl of Strafford, a powerful minister, was hanged; Charles himself was beheaded. In Ireland the corpses of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, men, women and children, strewed the thresholds of their habitations, and the most devilish cruelties and barbarities were perpetrated. Following the death of the King, Cromwell ravaged Ireland and at one place a thousand of the inhabitants who fled to the sanctuary of a church were massacred. As Cromwell put it: "Their heads were knocked in." Cromwell himself managed by extreme care to die in bed, but within a few years his body and that of his wife and daughter were exhumed and taken to Tyburn, where they hung on posts for a day and then their heads were chopped off. In Scotland and in England the slaughter continued four years. People accustomed to such scenes of carnage should require to be of a rare mold to escape contamination. Certainly many years of surcease from wanton bloodshed, and acts of violence, should have to be experienced before social and moral currents could be expected to flow untroubled.

Emigrants leaving a country where the sword, the spear, the pistol, the hangman's rope and the beheading axe have daily exercise no doubt have the desire to reach more peaceful lands, but it is probable that the efficacy of these implements, and familiarity with them, remain

in the consciousness subject to facile employment upon need or provocation. At any rate, these colonists in their home country in one year saw ten times as many of their neighbors put to the sword as were killed in America by the natives in a half-century of warfare, and when, in fact, the native casualties exceeded those of the settlers.

The foregoing citations from English history, contemporaneous with the quarter-century or so following the arrival of the Pilgrims in America, may serve to aid in orienting views with respect to the relative responsibility, or guilt, of the colonists and the Indians for the events of that period, which school histories characterize as atrocities.

In 1635, by promotion of the idea that "might makes right," English colonists overran Dutch settlements along the Connecticut River, establishing a settlement at Hartford. In this territory were situated the ancient land holdings of the Pequot, Mohegan and Narraganset Indian tribes. Sassacus, chief of the Pequots, was the recognized ruler over twenty-six sagamores, or lesser chiefs, in power throughout the area extending from Narragansett Bay to the Hudson River. Pequot territory was in the center.

Sassacus had reason to suspect the English of carrying on intrigue with the Narragansets and Mohegans with a view to bringing about a balance of power favorable to colonial ambitions. In the Connecticut valley at the time there were about two hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms, while the natives had a warrior force estimated at four thousand. With this disparity of forces it would seem that the colonists should have made every

effort to placate the chiefs, compensating them for white encroachment, and, in general, make overtures contemplating fair dealing all around.

The presence on the ground at the time of a professional soldier accounts for the manner in which native rights were considered; accounts for the procedure advocated and set in motion to eradicate the native tribes from the land of their heritage. Captain John Mason, a professional military man, had arrived from England in 1632, taking up residence in the Massachusetts colony, where he found military employment. In 1635, Mason joined the seceders from Massachusetts flocking into Dutch territory along the Connecticut River. Here because of his military reputation he was given command of the colony's military. He was then thirty-five years of age.

The Pequots in the Connecticut River country were obviously in a bad way. To the east of them the Massachusetts colonists maintained a continuous military pressure. To the west, the Dutch carried on, variously, commercial exploitation of the Pequots, or endeavored to use these people as a shield for military action against the English colonists. Locally, the Pequots had Captain Mason and his rapidly recruited military command making life miserable for them, in addition to which Uncas and his red followers (at outs with the Pequots) contributed to the discomfiture of Sassacus's people.

Even thus outnumbered and threatened on all sides, the Pequots were determined to fight to the death for those things which had always been theirs—the hunting and fishing grounds, and their habitations. Native resentment at the relentless encroachment of the whites

could have but one form if it was to be understood—so the Indians reasoned. Argument, petitions, prayers would avail nothing. Force only remained. At Wethersfield a native demonstration occurred against the adventuring settlers which was announced by the colonists as a massacre. Massachusetts was called upon for military aid toward destroying the Indians resident in Connecticut. From Boston three vessels loaded with men and munitions were despatched for Long Island Sound.

To isolate the Pequots from support it was decided by the English to cultivate the friendship of the Narragansets. To this end, in 1636, the colonists benefited from the humane and conservative counsel of Roger Williams. Williams alone visited Miantonomo (sometimes rendered Miantonomah) acting chief sachem of the Narragansets, nephew of Canonicus the aged chief, at his habitation near where Newport, Rhode Island, is now situated. Williams was successful in prevailing upon the Narragansets to sign a treaty of peace and alliance with the English colonists. Abandoned by their neighbors, the Pequots continued to resist the spread of colonial settlements. Fights, murders and reprisals became the order of the day. Uncas, with seventy Mohegan warriors, joined forces with the Connecticut colonists. Also, when a planned attack was made against the Pequots a few vagrant Niantics and Narragansets aligned themselves with the attackers, although, fearing the wrath of Sassacus in case of defeat of the colonials, these braves remained on the outskirts of the field as observers.

The fortified village of Sassacus was on a hill near the

Mystic River a few miles north of present New London, Connecticut. It was a stout fort, the palisades of tree-trunks rising twelve feet in height. Within the walled enclosure were seventy wigwams, each covered with fiber matting and thatch as protection against rain and snow.

The attack was evidently not anticipated by the Indians within the fort, and in this record we have one of the earliest accounts of the tactics followed by white men in attacking Indians for more than two centuries thereafter. The assault was launched in the early morning hours when the inhabitants were luxuriating in the tail-end of a night's sleep. The plan as it was prosecuted was immediately to set fire to the highly inflammable wigwams, the attackers acting mainly to prevent the inhabitants from escaping from the circular enclosure. In less than an hour about seven hundred men, women and children perished in the fiery furnace from which there was no escape, other than being riddled by musket balls as they sought the gates.

The pious Captain Mason, directing the operation, exclaimed: "God is over us! He laughs his enemies to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus does the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies." Some time later Dr. Mather in a written account of the massacre, said: "It was supposed that no less than six hundred Pequot souls were brought down to hell that day."

Such utterances under such circumstances were in accord with what the sectarian Oliver Cromwell was saying in that very year in England to the first cousins of the colonials in America. Verily, the superior race at

an early date taught the American natives new tricks of fury, new concepts of annihilation, and a hitherto unknown denial of mercy.

Sassacus himself was absent from the fort at the time of the attack, visiting with some of his people in a smaller village. Soon word reached him of the destruction of his fort and his people, and of two hundred marching colonials now on his trail to complete the annihilation of all of the Pequots. Hastily the little fort and the wigwams were set on fire and the remnants of the outlying Pequots began a migration westward toward the country of the Mohawks. Pursuing colonists in time caught up with the fleeing natives, who were slowed in their march by the presence of their women and small children. The Indians thus expelled from their homelands were sorely harried. Many women and children were put to the sword and died in the swamps. Only Sassacus and a few of the younger, active warriors eluded the vengeance of the English pursuers, in the course of time arriving at the villages of the Mohawks in the upper reaches of the Hudson River.

As was to be the fate of the great Ottawa chief, Pontiac, one hundred and thirty-two years later, Sassacus was killed by a tribesman among those who had offered the Pequot chief sanctuary. As to the inspiration of this needless persecution to the last breath, it is history that the Indian leader's scalp was bundled up and sent by forest runner to the English colonials. So far as Captain John Mason may be further mentioned, it is probable that he should have found like employment for his particular talents had he remained in England and become a Roundhead soldier, as did Fairfax, his

companion in 1630 in the fighting in the Low Countries.

What Pequots remained in remote sections of the Connecticut valley took little part in disputes with the whites thereafter. Captain Mason's Swamp Fight, in which the Pequots were practically annihilated, stands in colonial history as one of the battles which left nothing to debate about.

Whether it was due to the success of colonial intrigue, or to plain human obstinacy on the part of the respective Indian tribes, that the two outstanding native leaders, Sassacus and Uncas, were lined up in opposition in the Pequot war, it is creditable to Indian character that the part each played in those stirring times attracted no less favorable comment from the early historians than did the rôle played, for instance, by Captain John Mason.

Uncas, who differed with Sassacus with respect to what could be done to stem the infiltration of white settlers into Indian terrain, after the destruction of the Pequots returned to his people and became a powerful sachem, renowned in the annals of war and in peace. There is a well-authenticated story to the effect that on an occasion when the forces of Uncas confronted those of Miantonomo of the Narragansets, Uncas called for a parley before hostilities should begin. At the conference Uncas proposed that he and Miantonomo themselves decide the matter in single combat, so that the lives of many warriors might be saved. The Narraganset's reply was to the effect that his warriors had been enlisted to fight and should, of course, do the fighting. The outcome was that Uncas prevailed in the battle which followed. Miantonomo was captured and was by Uncas treated with kindness and courtesy.

During the remainder of his life Uncas was cultivated by the English colonists and no doubt proved helpful to them in many ways. After his death Uncas was buried where the city of Norwich, Connecticut, now stands.

The last of the pure-blood Pequots was a woman named Mauwee, who died in Connecticut in the year 1860 at the ripe age of one hundred years, her life-span no doubt raising the average of that of many of her dusky forebears.

Massasoit, who had lent a helping hand to the Pilgrims who landed on the Massachusetts coast in 1620, died in the year 1661, at the age of eighty years, leaving to carry on the traditions of his family two sons named by the English colonists, Alexander and Philip. The former did not long survive his father, but Philip (Matacom) became chief sachem of the Wampanoags, maintaining his principal village near where Bristol, Rhode Island, is now situated. In the school histories this chief is referred to as King Philip.

Massasoit had learned much through contact with the English colonists and was, in fact, one of the earliest Indian chiefs to attain to statesmanship comparable with that of the best exercised by English colonial leaders. Toward the end of his life the old chief expressed grave concern for the ultimate fate of his people. The increasing number of colonists and the expansion of their land holdings convinced him that in time the American natives would have before them no other destiny than that of becoming slaves to the white men. On this subject he communed often with his son Philip, but such was the young chief's loyalty to his father's memory, and his respect for the treaties his father had signed, that for

more than a decade he observed to the letter all covenants consummated.

In the summer of 1675 Philip had around him seven hundred warriors who looked to him for deliverance from the yoke which they felt descending upon them. The New England tribes numbered perhaps twenty-five thousands persons at that time. Philip, naturally cautious, was urged by his young warriors to form an Indian confederacy and to undertake the destruction of the white settlers. It will be recalled that by this time Harvard College had been established. An Indian youth named Sassamon was one of the early students at this seat of learning, and became a sort of scrivener or secretary to Philip. His sympathies being with the colonists, however, he secretly gave information to the colonists disclosing that the tribes were gathering for an offensive. For this treachery to his race he was killed; the colonists in turn hanged three Wampanoags charged on flimsy evidence with his murder.

Philip at once prepared for war by despatching the women and children of his lodges to the villages of the Narragansets. Then began a series of desperate engagements in which both sides suffered serious losses. The Nipmuc tribe, domiciled in the interior of Massachusetts, joined Philip, who with fifteen hundred warriors marched toward the settlements in the Connecticut valley.

The first action of the colonists was to invade the country of the Narragansets where the chief sachem, Canonchet, son of Miantonomah, was compelled to sign a peace with the English, agreeing not to espouse Philip's cause. Springfield, Brookfield, Deerfield and

other settlements were attacked, plundered and burned. At Northfield, Hadley and Hatfield, Indian attacks caused consternation to the colonial inhabitants. At Hatfield the tide turned when the colonists, forewarned, prepared an adequate defense. The Indian losses in this engagement were so severe that Philip retreated to Rhode Island, where he was wildy welcomed by the Narragansets, who forthwith tore up their agreement with the colonists and took to the warpath; but success for Philip was not possible unless the Mohegans in the Connecticut valley joined his force, and this they declined to do, preferring for the time being to prosecute their endeavor to live at peace with the colonists in their neighborhood.

Once more the colonials entered the Narraganset country, this time with fifteen hundred armed men, determined to punish Canonchet for his failure to remain neutral. Near Kingston, Rhode Island, three thousand Indians had hibernated for the winter in a fort in a swamp where they had stored a sufficient stock of supplies for the winter months. In December the colonials attacked, destroying a thousand warriors and taking as many more prisoner, among whom was Canonchet, who promptly was executed. Philip with some of his warriors retreated to the country of the Nipmucs. Others who escaped perished in the swamps owing to the severity of the weather, lack of clothing, and starvation.

For a time Philip devoted his energies toward inducing the Mohawks to join his crusade, but without success. He was, however, joined by tribesmen from east of Massachusetts and once more villages in Massachusetts and Rhode Island were put to the flames. Because of

disputes between the Narragansets and the Nipmucs these allies separated, whereupon the Indians from the east returned to their home country, all three units being pursued by the aroused colonials until three thousand Indians had been laid low. Of the Narragansets there remained no more than one hundred warriors.

Philip and a few of his faithful associates eluded capture. Several months later he secretly returned to his lodge and to his wife and son. The last of the Wampanoags, defeated, humiliated, crushed, said: "Now my heart breaks: I am ready to die." A few days later a renegade Indian treacherously shot him, following which a colonial captain cut off the slain chief's head and had it borne mounted on a pole into Plymouth, where the ghastly trophy was impaled on a pole for all to see. The proud chief's little son was later sold to be a bond-slave in Bermuda.

In the year 1678, after three years of devastating warfare, a treaty was signed and peace reigned.

In those early times the continent of North America, notwithstanding that no European explorer guessed its vast extent, was fair game for all who could outfit ocean voyages. The English, Spanish, Dutch and Swedes, all sought to establish colonies in the New World, as it was called. In the year 1615, six years after Hudson explored Delaware Bay and the shores adjacent to New York, the Dutch had established holdings in what later became New York and New Jersey.

Learning of the ill-success of the English and Spanish in their futile attempts to destroy the natives, the Dutch at first adopted the policy of making treaties with the original possessors of the soil. Formal, solemn treaties

were negotiated and signed between the Hollanders and the Five Nations Confederacy (which had been formed probably a century before Columbus's discovery) which at that early time was a coherent, powerful group of Indian tribes embracing the Oneidas, Onondagas, Mohawks, Cayugas and Senecas, known in general as the Iroquois.

Inasmuch as these treaties were concluded in New York and New Jersey it is probable that the Delaware or Lenni-Lenape tribe was represented in the negotiations; also, perhaps, the Esopus Indians, native to New Jersey.

The promising policy of making treaties with the natives was followed by outright purchases of lands, and although it is uninforming to compare land values of three hundred years ago with those prevailing in modern times, it is of interest to note that the purchase price paid in numerous instances was pitifully small. The land of Manhattan Island, on which part of New York City is built, was purchased for a consideration equivalent to twenty-four dollars in money. The Dutch made purchases in New Jersey, near Cape May, in May, 1630, one transaction covering the sale of an area of sixty-four square miles.

The Dutch spread outward from Manhattan, up the Connecticut River, where they established Fort Goed Hoop (Good Hope) near where Hartford later became a settlement. Also, their trading operations were extended north along the Hudson River, where Fort Orange (later Albany) was established. In this neighborhood, on one side of the river the Mohawks (Mohagues) held sway while on the other shore the

Mohegans had holdings and hunting grounds. An inter-tribal dispute arose between these tribes, and the Dutch commander violated provisions of a treaty by siding with the Mohegans, for which, in the year 1626 he was severely punished by the Iroquois. It was plainly a case of meddling in the private affairs of the natives. When the dispute had thus been settled, the Mohawk chief advised the Dutch commander: "We have done nothing against the white people. Why do they meddle with us? Had it been otherwise this would not have happened."

The Dutch, through their commander, continued to have trouble with the Iroquois, due to neglect upon the part of the Hollanders to live up to agreements. In 1643 a war party of Iroquois left their home domain and in mid-winter marched down the Hudson to demand redress. The Indians occupying lands above New Amsterdam (New York) fled before the irate Iroquois, taking refuge with the Dutch in Manhattan, and with the Hackensack and Raritan tribes on the west side of the Hudson. The Dutch, in a night attack upon the wigwams in Hoboken, slaughtered one hundred Indians—men, women and children. This action caused intense resentment on the part of the natives, far and wide, and soon tribal differences were laid aside so that the combined native forces might retaliate in kind. Indian reprisals continued for nearly two years, greatly to the discomfiture of the Dutch. War between Great Britain and Holland spreading to America gave the respective colonists from these countries something further to worry about. Each accused the other of endeavoring

to form an alliance with the Indians for offensive operations in the Connecticut valley.

To machinations on the part of the English or Dutch colonists, or of both of them, was attributed the circumstance that Ninigret, sachem of the Niantics and Narragansets, and Uncas, of the Mohegans were unfriendly. A report passed along the trails that Ninigret was courting the Dutch. Subsequently it was learned that that chief had been seen in New Amsterdam, and his appearance there being reported to Uncas, the latter had in hand the stuff out of which purposeful rumors may be formed.

Ninigret, questioned, explained that it was true he had journeyed over the trail to New Amsterdam (New York), but that his purpose in going to the Dutch had been only to seek medical attention; adding, lugubriously, that he had succeeded only in cooling his heels outside the door of the governor's offices. He maintained that, his patience becoming exhausted, he returned to his wigwams without having seen anyone of importance.

It is recorded history that at this time, the year 1643, the English colonists in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth and New Haven gathered in conference and formed a confederation under the title of the United Colonies of New England. In this union they pledged themselves to stand by one another in all perils and assaults, and to co-operate in all measures, offensive and defensive, against the surrounding "savages." With reference to this latter, a Dutch historian remarked that no doubt his ancestors in New Amsterdam were included!

The Dutch Governor, of the time, Kieft, at any rate was not in doubt about the purposes of the confederation once he learned that at a grand council in Boston representations were made against the "Nederlanders" because in their dealings with the Indians they carried on traffic in "guns, powther and shott, a trade damnable and injurious to the colonists." The Dutch historian makes no attempt to deny this charge, but adds that the English colonists also sold guns to the Indians, even if the guns "were scurvy weapons which burst at the first discharge." William the Testy, as Kieft was called, took umbrage at the English colonial confederacy holding meetings at New Haven (Red Hills), claiming that place as being within the limits of the province of New Netherlands. He referred to them as "a horde of squatters and interlopers."

Kieft's successor, Peter Stuyvesant, in 1651 was accused by the confederacy of secretly conspiring with the Mohawks, Narragansets and Pequots to attack the English colonies in the East. Accusations were made that much strong drink was being employed by the Dutch to attract the allegiance of the Indians. On the other hand, Dutch historians profess to believe that instead of the Hollanders supplying liquor, the English distributed liberal quantities of the intoxicant in the act of inducing individual Indians to testify that a Dutch conspiracy was afoot.

To sum up, there is in these records no evidence of efforts or plans on the part of the whites to contribute toward the moral and social betterment of the natives of America.

CHAPTER IV

NATIVE TITLE TO HOMELANDS

CANNASSATOGO. TITLES TO LAND. LAND TENURE.
TREATIES. GRANTS. CLAIMS.

CHAPTER IV

NATIVE TITLE TO HOMELANDS

IN THE United States and Canada where in our time live nearly one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, only one million lived when the continent was discovered by Europeans. It is obvious that then it should have been mere quibbling to dispute one with another about a particular patch of land either for temporary or for permanent tenure. Even tribal territories were somewhat loosely bounded geographically. The only boundaries of understanding or sense to the natives were those which by agreement or force of circumstances marked the terrain recognized as that preempted by a designated "nation," tribe or band.

Immigrants arriving from Europe had behind them centuries of grounding in the virtues of title to ownership. The old-world custom of "improving" land by erecting thereon substantial dwellings for permanent occupancy, which could by established law be sold, exchanged for other property, or inherited, was one with which the American natives as individuals had little or no occasion to have experience. The conditions of land tenure obtaining in America upon the arrival of the Europeans was such that the view was held by them that there was no occasion to bother about acquiring title from the natives. Such view was in principle no more than an assertion of superiority of "civilized" over "sav-

age" society and modes of life, and that the latter must perforce give way to the former. In the era of exploration the principle became generally recognized that "discovery" gave the primary or principal right to a country. From an international standpoint thus acquiring an original claim to a new country, as in the case of America, did not operate to cause immediate extinction to Indian right of actual occupancy. It took and held the country subject to this incumbrance.

It was convenient for the colonists to conclude that the Indian right itself was but imperfectly and partially secured. It was convenient also for the colonists to conclude that neither tribes nor individual Indians were clothed with the requisite authority to enable them to make perfect conveyances of their rights or claims. What urge there was impelling colonists to acquire some sort of title appears not to have been based upon a desire properly to compensate or satisfy the natives, but was due more to the desire to have something in the way of documentary evidence to flaunt in the faces of others who might come along and who were covetous. It was this consideration which accounts for and explains most of the "purchases" of land from the Indians, notwithstanding that various of the sales agreements carried the provision reserving the right of hunting and fishing to the original owners or occupants.

The age-old theorem that possession is nine points of the law had little consideration. Further, the convenient doctrine that original discovery on the part of Europeans established ownership thenceforth, became an international football when the English, Dutch, French,

Spanish and Portuguese upon occasion and in various sections disputed priority of discovery.

In these unfamiliar transactions the Indians were no doubt gullible, but as time went on they learned. In a dispute between the Lenape Indians of New Jersey, and the Dutch, a referee was agreed upon in the person of Canassatego, an Iroquois chief. The difference of opinion had to do with the right of the English to acquire benefits accorded to the Dutch in a treaty some years previously. The native chief proved to be a veritable Daniel. After listening to the arguments pro and con he addressed the Lenape-Delaware delegation thus: "The lands you now claim have already been sold; therefore your present demand is a fraud; and while we are talking of this matter I ask: how came you to take upon yourselves to sell lands at all? We of the Five Nations conquered you. We made women of you. You know you are women, and can no more sell lands than women."

Here was introduced a new element which must have caused dismal discouragement to embryo land registrars and notaries, for unless the natives themselves could agree upon native title and authority to transfer, what was the colonist of law-abiding tendencies to do? What he actually did in the main was a somewhat roughshod proceeding, but the sword and the musket from time immemorial fared well in tilts with the might of the pen!

There was the occurrence in the year 1607 on the James River in Virginia when Powhatan, viewing with a practiced eye the military puissance of the English deputation which had arrived to set out stakes and mark

off boundaries, said to his chiefs who vociferously resented the intrusion: "They hurt you not; they only take a little waste land."

In the year 1682, the far-seeing and liberal-minded Quaker, William Penn, at the site of Philadelphia, negotiated a treaty with the Indians which it should have been well had others copied, and lived up to as Penn and his Quaker friends interpreted this document. It was a covenant of peace, and the words spoken at the ceremony were typical of the sentiments of the day. Penn said: "We meet in the broad pathway of goodwill. No advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you, I will not compare to a chain, for that the rains might rust, or a falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body was to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood."

The Indian spokesman replied: "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon endure." The pages of history do not record that Quaker blood ever was shed by an Indian.

Knowing as we do that deeds to plots of land, properly attested, sealed and registered, came to be recognized as evidences of ownership of property, above and beyond dispute, may well engender qualmish solicitude with respect to the moral scruples of the European colonists who coveted and acquired lands in America. It was a convenient conception of the niceties of the situation to subscribe to the view that one might properly

assume title to a particular area merely by assuming responsibility for existing encumbrances. For, in the beginning, the persons of the Indians constituted the only encumbrance, and if by removing the encumbrance secure title took form, the matter was resolved into simple elements subject to expeditious negotiation.

Even while the doctrine of ownership by virtue of discovery was in the making, the land lying along the Atlantic coast of North America changed ownership several times after it was discovered. In the Delaware River valley at various times the Dutch, the Swedes and the English claimed ownership. In a three-cornered quarrel about land ownership there is advantage in being in position to base title on more than one claim. In this instance there was no likelihood of agreement as to priority of discovery. The English claimed that they had purchased the lands in dispute from the Indian sachems. The Indians must have been puzzled at the inability of the pale-faces to make up their minds whether the Delaware country was to be known as New Sweden, New Amsterdam or New England.

In early references to right to title, such as appear in Frost's History, Hazard's Register, and other works, there are evidences of sporadic disturbances of conscience when native claims to the ownership of occupancy were disregarded. Had the Indians only known of the merit of ninety-nine year leases at annual nominal rentals, matters might have turned out differently. Inquiry into the subject of title to land, its importance in the mind of the settler or colonist, and the principles presented as a basis for title, throws light upon what it was the Indians fought against for more than three centuries.

European nations might fight among themselves in various causes, but they were a unit in supporting the doctrine that the American natives must not, and could not, legally dispose of land by sale. Enforcement of this doctrine was not always easy. In general the plantation hunters felt more secure in title when they could show paper testifying that they had "purchased" the land from the Indians. Such evidence of ownership, no matter by what artifice acquired, was thought to add weight to claims based on original discovery.

In the long-forgotten Swedish colony along the Delaware River, it became evident soon after settlement began that the attempt of the Swedish government to settle their people before any assurance had been gained of a right to the territory entered upon, was hazardous and unwise. If attempts had been made in negotiation with the previous claimants, there is nothing to show that any positive agreements were ever concluded with them. The Swedes defended their claims entirely upon the ground of the native right. Even in their last protest they set forth the Swedish title as being derived "*optimo titulo juris*," a purchase from the natives. But this had never been acknowledged by European nations as giving sufficient right.

Actually, native right and right by discovery were of little weight compared to the rights of the conqueror, such as that of 1663 contained in the "grant" to the Duke of York by his brother the English King. The territory covered by this grant extended from Cape Cod to the Delaware River. The grant conferred upon the Duke the powers of government both civil and military, within the boundaries stated. And, as an early historian

noted: "Orders were immediately given for the preparation of armament to be despatched to America in order to put the Duke in possession of his new domain."

So far as England was concerned the right of the King to grant new lands to his subjects could not be called into question. This was one of the prerogatives of the Crown which had been entirely overlooked by the occasional reformers. The only force which could nullify the power of grants of this order would be superior military force of other European claimants. Actually, ten years after the Duke of York grant, the Dutch returned in force and took possession of the territory covered in the grant. Thus ownership remained for two or three years, when the Dutch and English, patching their quarrel abroad, made provision that the English should resume possession and ownership.

At this late date we are in no position to say what land in America was worth per acre at the time of arrival of the first colonists from Europe. All land and commercial values have so changed in the interim that there remains no reasonable basis for comparison with present-day figures. At the time of William Penn's death in England, in 1712, he was engaged in negotiating the sale of his province in America for the sum of sixty thousand dollars. In Pennsylvania today there are numerous individual residences which cost that much money each, built on one-hundred-foot-front lots.

With a reversal of procedure not uncommon in human affairs, the practice of securing territory for white settlement by means of cession from the Indians, in time was replaced by so-called treaties in which land in remote sections was ceded to the Indians. The concessions

to form and order were dependent upon the particular conditions exigent at the moment.

Early in the relations between the American Government and the Amerindians the word "ward" was employed as having a useful and comprehensive significance. A dictionary definition of the word is "one under a guardian, a protector." For white orphans under age, guardians are appointed by law. The same law defines the duties and establishes limits to the authority of guardians so appointed. The guardianship terminates when the orphan ward comes of age. The word "ward" applied to the American natives, through some process of reasoning, or lack of reasoning, carries restrictions. The Indian ward never comes of age. That the term has survived so long in Indian affairs means only that it is a convenient term. Even the Supreme Court has somewhat loosely employed the terms, convenient in the "conveyance" of rights, not to the Indians but from them. In its applications the term "ward" has prohibited the natives from making contracts, except through a guardian, the Government. He was prohibited from employing an attorney to bring suit in his behalf. Strangely, however, until as late as 1873 the tribes were regarded as having such legal status that they were qualified to make treaties. This condition had continued for more than a century, particularly when the wards were more powerful than the guardian.

A treaty made with the Five Nations in 1791, in the preamble professed on the part of the United States Government "to elevate, civilize, and educate them, by furnishing them with useful domestic animals, and implements of husbandry." In 1778 there was the "per-

petual" treaty with the Delaware Indians, with "offensive and defensive" provisions. Also, in return for military aid rendered the Revolutionary party they were promised "the territorial right to a state as large as the state of Pennsylvania, and a right to representation in Congress." Seven years later the Delawares were driven to Ohio; forty years later to Missouri and Arkansas, and ten years later to Kansas. The ward was shifted farther and farther away from a guardian he could not sue in any event. Of the Indian lands, up to the year 1879 the United States Government had taken possession and ownership of 3,232,936,351 acres, leaving to all the tribes collectively only 97,745,009 acres. These were the figures contained in the minority report of the Joint Committee appointed by both Houses of the Forty-fourth Congress, to consider the expediency of transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department.

Transfer of responsibility for the relations between the conqueror and the conquered, from the administrative arm of government to the military had long been desired by believers in Manifest Destiny. Administration aimed to wash its hands of the entire subject when on the third of March, 1871, Congress by an Act declared that:

"No Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty."

Congress at that time essayed to avoid legal and historical complications by stipulating that the Act "should not invalidate any treaties made previous to that date."

But, if there was left a treaty which had not been broken, the new Act had the effect of rendering it as dead as the impost on tea.

After the close of the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain, the British envoys at Ghent charged the United States with "having reduced the Indians to the state of subjects living on sufferance within their limits, and threatened thereby with total extinction." To this, the American commissioners, John Quincy Adams and Albert Gallatin, replied:

"The Indians residing within the United States are so far independent that they live under their own customs and laws, and not under the laws of the United States; that their rights on the lands which they inhabit or hunt are secured to them by boundaries secured to them in amicable treaties between the United States and themselves; and that whenever those boundaries are varied, it is also by amicable and voluntary treaties, by which they receive from the United States ample compensation for every right they have to surrender."

At that very time Tecumseh, Red Jacket, Brant, Turtle, Black Partridge and numerous other Indian chiefs were battling to the death to secure for the tribes a modicum of what is set down in the foregoing as accomplished fact.

A time was to arrive, however, when the Indians, noting the frequency with which success attended white men's appeals to courts in various disputes, decided to test the scales of justice by making issue of the sanctity of treaties. In the past half-century numerous cases have been presented to the courts for interpretation or for decision, which involved the provisions of Indian treaties, and deeds to ceded territories. One of the most

bitterly fought cases was that of the Choctaws, who by solemn treaty had been granted homelands in Mississippi, and who later were forcibly moved to Indian Territory. There was something in the light-hearted abrogation of treaties which gave the Indians cause for lack of confidence in the bargains and promises of white men.

Destiny, which in the main left the Amerindians to their fate, may have been dealing the cards when the military, acting for the Government, picked out for Indian homelands the barren waste which in the course of time became the Oklahoma oil fields, from which Indians resident there in later years reaped a long-delayed harvest never intended for Indian reaping.

CHAPTER V

RIVALRY FOR THE FUR-TRADE

TO-MO-CHI-CHI. YAMACRAW. YAMASEE. SAVANNAH.
CHEROKEE. CREEK. SEE-NAW-KI. MARY MUSGROVE.
TOO-NA-HO-WL. NATCHEZ. GREAT SUN. HASSOUAN.
HURON. TUSCARORA. ALGONQUIN. MICMAC. MELI-
SITE. ABENAKI. MONTAGNAIS. OJIBWAY. SHAWNEE.
ARKANSAS. CREE. POTAWATOMIE. SAC. WYANDOT.
OTTAWA. TESSOUAT. NIBACHIS. ASSINIBOINE. DOG
RIB. STONY. CHIPPEWAYAN. YELLOW KNIFE. SARSI.

CHAPTER V

RIVALRY FOR THE FUR-TRADE

FOLLOWING the destruction of the Pequots in 1637, English colonial settlement in the New England states continued without let or hindrance for many years. In the country of the cavaliers, Virginia and Carolina, resistance on the part of the natives to being pushed farther and farther away from coast lands caused numerous conflicts of varying degrees of severity.

As white population increased, as forts in key positions were erected by the colonials, and as colonial militia became better organized, the Indians experienced increasing difficulty in remaining long in the fruitful valleys and along the life-giving streams. White aggression expanded, usurping the choice lands; leaving to the natives the less desirable areas—until these also should be required to accommodate arriving immigrants, and to provide for the building up of large plantations and landed estates.

The condition of the Shawnees in Carolina became so unsatisfactory by the year 1698, that a branch of this proud tribe decided to give up the struggle and migrate to Pennsylvania, then more sparsely settled by whites. Twenty-six years later, when the Delawares, weary of warfare with the settlers, moved their lodges to the bountiful tributaries of the Ohio River, the Shawnees joined them. It is probable that these were the first

Indian mass migrations westward; the beginning of a general shift toward the setting sun which was to reach large proportions in the years ahead. At that time the Ohio country was virgin territory where there was peace for the red-men.

It was but fifteen years after the Shawnees departed from Carolina when events developed which it is possible they had foreseen. The Governor of North Carolina organized a military campaign against the natives, and in 1713 assaulted and captured one of their main villages. Eight hundred of the natives were seized; many were driven to the swamps, and some were sold into slavery. Members of the Tuscaroras, learning what was afoot, managed to escape the round-up. Sensing, as had the Shawnees some years before, that there must be fruitful forests and streams elsewhere, the Tuscaroras journeyed to western New York, where in 1726, they became a part of the Five Nations, or Iroquois Confederacy, thenceforth known as the Six Nations.

It was eight years after the disaster to the Indians in Carolina that the powerful Cherokees and Creeks forced the Governor to sign a treaty allotting exclusive hunting grounds to the natives. In 1730 several Cherokee chiefs set sail for England to conclude this treaty, reasoning that it would be best to have the unreserved sanction of the mother country to this all-important pact. Actually, this proved to be a treaty of great value to the colonials, as, for forty years thereafter, Cherokees and Creeks in maintaining intact their territory served as an impregnable barrier against French aggression from the south.

This, notwithstanding that as early as 1733, a party of one hundred and twenty arrived in America from

England with Imperial documents to show that they had been authorized to establish the colony of Georgia, to the south of the Carolinas. This was the expedition headed by Colonel James Edward Ogelthorpe, who made headquarters at Savannah. Oglethorpe was successful as a colonizer and although his seat was in the very center of the lands of the Creek Confederacy, and of the Yamacraws, and Yamasees or Savannahs, he so directed the infiltration of his followers that open hostility was avoided.

Over the Yamacraws and Savannahs ruled the ninety-one-year-old chief, To-mo-chi-chi, who was of commanding person, grave, dignified, and renowned as a warrior and sachem. In negotiations with the chief, Ogelthorpe had as an interpreter the daughter of a Carolina trader and a Creek squaw, named Mary Musgrove. At a general pow-wow or convention which was arranged there were present fifty native chiefs representing eight tribes of the Creek nation.

In the negotiations which preceded the signing of the treaty the natives maintained an attitude which was a mixture of resignation to the inevitable and a desire to retain for themselves and their children land sufficient for their support. The colonists were ceded all "unoccupied" lands within defined boundaries, the natives reserving also hunting and fishing rights on neighboring extensive islands, within the limits of the land ceded to the colonials.

Although in the negotiations rum, religion and presents played important parts in garnering affirmative Indian votes, the mutual relations established were of an enduring character. To cement the compact and to im-

press the natives with the greatness and power of the mother country, Oglethorpe within the year returned to England taking with him as guests To-mo-chi-chi and some of his friends, including his wife See-naw-ki, their adopted son Too-na-ho-wl and five chiefs. After a sojourn of four months in London, where they were provided with dazzling entertainment, the Indians returned to Georgia. Two years later Ogelthorpe also returned, bringing with him several cannons and one hundred and fifty Scotch Highlanders of military training, also John Wesley, founder of the Methodist church.

In the year 1729 the Natchez and Arkansas tribes became involved in an inter-tribal war in the territory west of Georgia, probably because of French machinations and designs; for, two years later, the French from Louisiana attacked the weakened Natchez warriors, taking prisoners their chief, Great Sun, and four hundred warriors, all of whom were shipped to Spain to be sold into slavery. In 1736 the French attacked the Chickasas in Louisiana and Mississippi, but the members of this tribe proved to be of stern stuff. In two battles the French were badly beaten by the Chickasas. Forthwith a force of thirty-six hundred French soldiers, including some treaty Indians brought down from French Canada, was assembled in Tennessee, with the determination to crush the natives once and for all. The Chickasas, however, having twice prevailed against the Frenchmen, were not dismayed. The preparations they made and the battle front they maintained were of such character that the French, within the year, were forced to sign a peace and to acknowledge the Chickasas as the rulers of that vast territory extending between Louisiana and the

Illinois country. It is to be remembered that from Louisiana to the Canadian border far to the north, and from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, continued as French territory until 1763.

Throughout this vast territory the French continued for many years after their reckoning with the Chickasas to carry on profitable trade in furs, their operations extending to the upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

Reference to French treaty Indians calls for a brief review of how the natives in the North were getting along with the French in the St. Lawrence valley and along the shores of the Great Lakes. In Chapter II, reference is made to Cartier's visits to Canada in 1534-1535, and his relations at that early time with the natives. There is little, if any, authentic record of what the natives were about for a half-century following that year. In 1603 Champlain arrived from France, his purpose being to open up trade in furs, and to inaugurate movements having in view "civilizing" the natives.

Champlain found no trace of the Indian villages reported by Cartier; Stadacona and Hochelaga. At an early date it became plain to Champlain that to carry out his commercial project it would be necessary to have the co-operation and assistance of the natives. Finding that there were in being two powerful nations of Indians; the Iroquois, and the Algonquin-Huron groups, and that the latter appeared to have the upper hand north of the St. Lawrence River, Champlain threw in his lot with them. With this group he formed an alliance against the Iroquois, which alignment of forces had the result of making the Iroquois tribes thereafter friends

of the English colonists to the South and East, as opposed to the French in the North and West.

Montreal was founded by the French in 1642. Quebec had been founded in 1608, but within a year or so thereafter the Dutch had gained a substantial foothold in America; first at New Amsterdam, later extending their influence along the Delaware River; into Connecticut, and up the Hudson River to Fort Orange (Albany). In this territory of considerable magnitude they remained with precarious tenure until 1664, when they gave way to the English.

In the prosecution of the traffic in furs, and in the ambition to divert the main route of the fur trade from the North, by way of the Hudson River to New Amsterdam, instead of along the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec, the commercial rivalry was on a grand scale. Where, until this time, Indian corn harvests had been appropriated, or purchased, to sustain the lives of discoverers, adventurers, and colonists, now began trading and military operations on an enlarged scale, having in view the procurement, by fair means, or foul, of great stocks of valuable peltries for shipment to Europe.

The Iroquois were supplied with firearms by the Dutch at Fort Orange. Forthwith Iroquois attention was directed toward the Hurons in the prolific fur country in Canada. In July, 1648, the Iroquois warriors attacked the Hurons in the country which later became the Province of Ontario. In the country between Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron resided several thousand Hurons. Indian tribes desiring to remain aloof from the struggle were destroyed by the Iroquois. On their way north they decimated the Andastes in the valley of

the Susquehanna. The Eries, and Neutrals on the shores of Lake Erie were also attacked and scattered, and by the year 1649 the Hurons were reduced to a few hundred. Some of the Hurons were adopted by the Iroquois, a remnant journeying to Quebec under French protection. This band was domiciled at Ste. Foye, later being transferred to La Jeune Lorette, a few miles from the city of Quebec, where their descendants still live.

Elated at the extent of the plunder in marketable furs taken from the defeated tribes, the Iroquois, in 1660, organized a campaign designed to destroy the French and their Indian allies in all parts of Canada. In that year they boldly attacked French headquarters at Montreal, causing consternation to French officials and misery to others.

Beginning in 1664, after the English had superseded the Dutch at New York, energetic efforts were instituted by the former to increase the magnitude of the fur traffic from the North, by way of the Hudson River, along this line building upon the accomplishments of the Dutch. As between British and French land holdings in America, and the rivalry of these two powers in the fur trade, the Iroquois were encouraged to serve as an advance guard for the English into French territory, as far north as the Ottawa valley.

To stem this warlike invasion, the French, in 1666, despatched a column comprising three hundred French soldiers and two hundred Indian allies on a foray against the Mohawks in the Hudson valley, but the Iroquois were not at the time prepared for battle, the result of which was that no engagement took place. Later in the

same year a second French expedition into the same region destroyed Mohawk villages.

In anticipation of the future, the French Intendant in Canada, in 1670, sent Nicolas Perrot to Lakes Superior and Huron charged with the mission of inducing the natives of the northwestern country to acknowledge the sovereignty of France. In 1671, Perrot held an elaborately staged conference at Sault Ste Marie, which was attended by numerous representatives of the Sacs, Winnebagoes, Menominies, Monsonis, Amikous, and Nipissings. There the French spokesman, Saint-Lusson, announced to the assembled natives French claim to all of the Great Lakes, streams, and territories bounded by the seas north and west, and to the south.

Strengthening the defenses of Canada, the French built Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario) in 1672, and two years later the French Governor called a conference in that neighborhood to which he invited representatives of the Iroquois from south of the St. Lawrence. At this conference the spokesman for the Iroquois was the chief, Garakontie. The French Governor was attended by one hundred followers, and afloat on the Cataraqui River, near the French encampment, were one hundred and twenty French canoes. These, together with two flat-boats, upon which cannons were mounted, made a formidable-appearing display at a conference to discuss peace. Nothing of advantage to the French came out of this conference. The Iroquois had thus far been able, in a military way, to cope with the French and their Indian allies.

As an indication of the strength of organization of the Iroquois it is recorded that when the Frenchmen, La

Salle and Hennepin, visited Seneca and Onondago headquarters (not far from Rochester, New York) in 1676, forty-two chiefs were in attendance at a conference.

In 1678, the wooden structure at Fort Frontenac had been replaced by a stoutly-built stone fort, erected by La Salle. A conference was called here by the French Governor in Canada, in the year 1687, attended by representatives of the Iroquois. While it is not likely that the representatives of the Six Nations were in a mood to agree to any proposed conditions not favorable to themselves, an opportunity was lost to the French wherein further conferences might have been held, when the Governor caused a number of the visiting chiefs to be seized and placed in captivity, later to be transported abroad for employment as slaves. This treachery the Iroquois never forgave.

It was experiences of this nature with the French which loosed the flood-gates of Indian wrath in 1687. In following months Lachine (near Montreal) was attacked and two hundred men, women and children carried off into captivity in Indian villages. The French, in turn, sent an expedition of twenty-five hundred men against the Senecas, south of the St. Lawrence, Indian allies from the Upper Lakes having been brought east to aid the attack upon the Iroquois in their home country. It was the Iroquois endeavor at this time to convince the French that they must henceforth confine themselves to territory north of the St. Lawrence River, the powerful Seneca chief, Hassouan, directing all of his energies toward this end. But, it was not until the year 1701 that a peace was arranged between the French

and the Iroquois, which cleared of interference, French trade routes to the fur country of the North and West.

With good reason the Indians, variously with amusement or contempt, contemplated an uncertain boundary-line between French and British colonial holdings in North America. The reader must have concluded from what has been recorded herein that Indian territorial boundaries shifted from time to time according to the fortunes of the several tribes. Also, that the Iroquois, Algonquins, Delawares, Cherokees, and other confederacies and tribes, although identified in a general way with stated territories, nevertheless were upon occasion discovered in large parties or in bands far away from their home grounds.

The formal histories of the past century for nationalistic purposes distinguished between French and English Indians. So that there may not be disagreement with the records it may here be in order to present an outline of the established segregation.

The Indian tribes which figured most prominently in the shifting history of New France, the Canadas, were the Iroquois and the Algonquins. The latter were more numerous and held sway over wider territory, but the Iroquois were the more aggressive and progressive; the furthest advanced in tribe organization and in warlike effectiveness.

The Indians first encountered by explorers who landed in the outermost reaches of the St. Lawrence were the Algonquins. The early voyagers found Micmacs in what later became Nova Scotia, and Melisites in the valley of the St. John River. To the immediate west and south were the Abenakis.

On the north shore of the St. Lawrence, east of Quebec, the Europeans found the Montagnais. Farther west the Algonquins proper held sway. The Ojibways were native to the considerable territory which later became Ontario. The Shawnees who figured in Canadian history under Tecumseh were in fact Algonquins. The Cree Indians widely distributed throughout the Canadian Northwest, like the Pottawtomies, the Sacs, and the Blackfeet, were kindred to the Algonquins. The Hurons, or Wyandots, occupied a vast territory south and east of Hudson Bay; and, with the Ottawas, along the Ottawa River. Champlain in 1613 found villages on the Ottawa, particularly on Allumette Island, under chiefs Tessouat and Nibachis. The villages were in flat clearings where the trees had been burned down to stumps. The dwellings of the Indians were framed of poles with birchbark coverings as protection against the elements.

In the Canadian Northwest, the Assiniboines ("They cook with Stones") of the Dakota family, the Sioux, the Stony tribe, Chippewyans, Dog-Ribs, Yellow-Knives, and Sarsi, as well as other and smaller aggregations, have for centuries managed to make livings on the plains and along the great rivers, almost up to the Arctic Circle.

The Abenaki people mentioned, ignoring national boundaries, extended into Maine, and even farther south. Notwithstanding that these natives had their holdings far to the north where winters were long and winter weather severe, they had little inclination to migrate to warmer climes. Also, in spite of white aggression they appear to have determined to stick it out

on their home grounds, remaining with their heritage. Quite naturally their position became perilous. It was inescapable that they should have frequent combat with the colonists on the Maine coast and farther south where the growing population of Massachusetts continued to spread inland. In 1696 Nova Scotia was under French rule. A year later a marching force of French and Indians for the first time invaded New England, continuing southward to within twenty miles of Boston. This was purely a French attack upon English colonies, but the Indians, with French acquiescence, seized the occasion to contribute what they could to the elimination of the English from these lands. Villages were destroyed and the inhabitants dispersed. A chief of one of the allied bands had his lodges at a place near the location which became Concord, New Hampshire, and to this place he took a captured white woman. The woman's name was Hannah Dustin.

Visitors to this spot in modern times have noted a substantial monument which many years ago was erected to this lady's memory. It appears that on the long march through the slush and rain Mrs. Dustin, whose child had been killed by the Indians, devoted her attention to learning how to kill quickly with a tomahawk, and to scalp victims.

Biding her time, one night she entered separately the lodges of sleeping natives, killing ten of them with such despatch and finesse that none had time to utter a cry. The woman then made her escape from the village, but had gone only a short distance when it occurred to her practical mind that she might have to address doubting ears when she told her story. At once she retraced

her steps and again entering the lodges scalped each of her victims, carrying off the trophies as evidence of her prowess.

Twenty-five years later the Abenakis once more decided that they must march against the English in the hope of stemming the pressure of the colonials for more and more Indian land. Being apprised of the venture, the Massachusetts authorities were successful in capturing several Abenaki chiefs, holding them as hostages. At once proclamations were issued offering fifteen pounds sterling for each Indian scalp brought in; later the inducement was raised to one hundred pounds.

Verily, if the white race, the colonists, had not absorbed the American natives, it would appear that the natives were in a fair way to absorb the whites, at least to the extent that all should be on the same plane morally.

CHAPTER VI

NATIVES ALLIES OF WARRING COLONISTS

MIAMI. HALF-KING. MOHAWK. KING HENDRIK.
OTTAWA. WYANDOT. CHIPPEWAS. MISSISSAUGUE.
WINNEBAGO. FOX. WAWATUM. MINAVAVANA.
PONTIAC. MINGO. LOGAN. CORNSTALK.

CHAPTER VI

NATIVES ALLIES OF WARRING COLONISTS

ALAS for the peace of the Shawnees and Delawares who had sought and found haven in the forests of Ohio. In 1749 an organization known as the Ohio Company obtained from the Crown of England an exclusive exploitation grant of five hundred thousand acres along the east bank of the Ohio River. In this grant there was a brew of trouble in the years ahead, both for the natives and for the pioneers and adventurers who filtered into the territory. The first reconnaissance party sent out by this company reached the Ohio River in the fall of 1750. In addition to the two tribes mentioned above there were numerous Ottawas and Wyandots in this neighborhood. The company's surveyors presented themselves as ambassadors from the British Sovereign and as such for a time were respected. Soon the keen eyes and ears of the natives informed them that in all probability the days of desperation lived along the Atlantic seaboard were all to be gone over again in the wilderness of the middle West. Aroused to the situation, one of the chiefs said to the Ohio Company's representative: "You are come to settle on the Indians' lands. You shall never go home safe."

The natives had to this time been successful in inducing the French to keep out of the country west of the

Alleghany Mountains, and quite naturally refused to agree to English entry. As a Delaware chief said to the Ohio Company: "The French now claim all the land on one side of the river and the English claim all the land on the other side. Where is the Indian land?" And wasn't this a fair question?

At this time, also, the stage was being set for the final struggle between the English and the French for the possession of Canada. There was dire need on the part of both countries to cultivate the friendship of the warriors of the tribes, to establish a semblance of neutrality or at least to insure that should the Indians take sides there would not be a disproportionate number of Indians favoring one side in the struggle when it came. The Indians, favoring the French, aided them in establishing a line of forts between the Alleghany River and Lake Erie, through the domain of the Miamis and beyond.

At this juncture a young surveyor by the name of George Washington was commissioned a major and sent into the Ohio country as the "ambassador" of the Governor of Virginia, to proceed to the headquarters of the French commanders at Fort Venango and Fort LeBœuf. This was in 1753. From Logstown, situated about fourteen miles below Pittsburgh, on the Ohio River, Washington was guided to the French headquarters by a renowned chief named Half-King, who was skeptical of both French and English as to their ultimate intentions. To the French when they began building forts he had said: "The Great King above allowed the land to be a place of residence for us, so I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English, for I will keep you at arms' length. I lay this down as a trial for both,

to see which will have the greatest regard to it and make equal shares with us."

On this occasion Half-King was given reason to believe that the Washington expedition was for the purpose of establishing relations between the French and English which might have benefits for the natives; but he was to discover very soon that both French and English had nothing in view other than depriving the Indians of their lands and their liberty.

In the ideal hunting grounds along the Ohio River and along the other main streams and their tributaries, the tribes had no end of difficulty maintaining their hold. The desperate efforts they put forth to dissuade white advance into the fertile valleys, precipitated unending conflict. A time arrived, in 1756, when the Pennsylvania Assembly legalized a bounty to be paid for Indian scalps delivered intact at designated places, even if disfigured. There was little here of William Penn's policy of seventy-four years earlier. The tactics resembled more Cromwell's against the Irish and Scotch, and those of the good people of Massachusetts against the Pequots, Narragansets and Abenakis, and were not a whit more merciful than the treatment accorded the Appalachians by the Spaniard, Narvaez, nor the Coosas by De Soto, about two hundred and twenty-five years earlier.

In the meantime subtle forces were at work aligning the combatants for the series of military actions between the English and French in the Lake George-Lake Champlain region of New York, which were to precede the later and final conflict along the St. Lawrence River. In September, 1755, English headquarters at Lake

George learned that an army of French and Indians was en route southward. The English commander decided to send out three small parties to offer opposition from three separate positions. When the Mohawk chief, King Hendrik, (Soiengarahtah) of the Iroquois allies, was apprised of this decision he enunciated a principle of warfare which in various applications has on numerous occasions been attributed to others. It was: "If they are to fight, you are sending too few; if they are to be killed, too many." Taking in his hands three small sticks he reminded: "Place these sticks together and you cannot break them; take them separately and you can break them easily."

Forthwith the order was given and the English, accompanied by two hundred Iroquois braves, marched out toward the approaching enemy.

The initial engagement was disastrous to the English and the Iroquois. The warrior, Hendrik, was on the front of the advance and received wounds from which shortly he died. The French column, although of considerable strength, was a scouting party with light arms only, intended to feel out the English strength and position. English reenforcements, with cannon, soon gained the upper hand, forcing French retirement to Ticonderoga. *Tioken*, meaning "between," and *kani-atara*, "lake," are the Iroquoian words from which the variations of the name Ticonderoga were derived.

The war between the French and the English continued throughout the following four years, most of the battles taking place between the headwaters of the Hudson River, and the St. Lawrence River. The battle which broke French power in Canada was that at Que-

bec in 1759, when the English under Wolfe defeated the French under Montcalm, and on which occasion both of these gallant generals lost their lives.

Forthwith the faith of the Indians in the invincibility of the French relaxed. A year prior to the fall of Quebec French arms had suffered so many reverses in the lakes country of northern New York that the natives foresaw the end of French control in the north, and the rise of England's sway over Canada, the New England colonies, and probably over the Ohio country. A pow-wow or council was held by the tribes at Easton, on the Delaware River, at which Indian aggregations theretofore outside the Iroquois Confederacy allied themselves with this dominating group for the purpose of being in position to make the most favorable treaties possible with the English masters.

Contest at an end between the French and English for the rule of America, the natives realized that henceforth they should be without such aid as came from the English having other enemies in the country besides themselves. Their troubles had been grievous enough while the French and English colonists warred with each other, but from now on they would have to go it alone in whatever measures they might take to stem white advance into the forests, and along the rivers of the country to the west.

In 1763 several tribes combined and attacked the colonials in Pennsylvania and Virginia, the Indians under the leadership of the renowned Ottawa chief, Pontiac. Instead of arresting this movement and calling for a conference, as William Penn would have done in all probability, the colonial forces attacked and wiped out

an inoffensive and friendly tribe at Conestoga on the Susquehanna River, no doubt thinking thereby to scare Pontiac and cause him to refrain from continuing on the warpath. The Pennsylvanians who delivered the ruthless and unprovoked attack upon the natives were severely denounced by Benjamin Franklin, then prominent in Philadelphia.

Three years previously, upon the fall of Canada, an English Colonial major had been sent west, by way of Canada, to take possession of Detroit. The English officer, supported by two hundred experienced rangers, met Pontiac in conference, the purport of which was to ask the natives to believe that the English had come only to drive out the French, the enemy common both to English and Indians. Pontiac, a magnificent specimen of Indian manhood, was the recognized head of the tribes in Ohio and Michigan. He was then about fifty years of age and in his prime.

The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, in which the French ceded the bulk of their holdings in America to the English produced resentment among the tribes. They reasoned that they, as the original owners and occupants of the land, should have had some part in the framing of any agreement concluded. The arrogance of the English generals who had been victorious over the French, toward the Indian chiefs, particularly the impatience of Amherst, fanned the flame which events had kindled.

The Indians as allies had been of great value to the French. With the fall of Quebec and Montreal the important French western forts at Michilimackinac, and Presque Isle, as well as Detroit and numerous others,

came into possession of the British. The Indians who had aided the French throughout many years found themselves in an unenviable predicament.

In the spring of 1763 Pontiac assembled the Ottawas, Miamis, Wyandots, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Missis-saugues, Shawnees, Foxes, Winnebagoes and Senecas at a place close to Detroit. Pontiac was pictured as of average height, of muscular build, well-proportioned physically, and of vigorous action. His complexion was dark, even for an Indian. His expression was bold and stern; his habitual bearing imperious and peremptory, as of a man accustomed to making decisions for others. His ordinary attire differed little from that of his warriors—a French ceinture about his middle, and his long black hair flowing loosely at his back. On important formal occasions he donned a complete uniform of a French officer, allowed him by the French commander, Montcalm. At purely tribal functions he appeared painted and plumed in the approved Indian manner.

At Detroit the siege by the tribes was maintained for a year. Successful assaults were made on all of the forts west of the east end of Lake Ontario, excepting Niagara and Fort Pitt. This last forlorn effort on the part of the Indians to halt the western march of empire was set in motion as a result of the success of the Indians against Braddock on the Monongahela, when but twenty-three of the eighty-six British officers remained unhurt, and when seven hundred of the twelve hundred soldiers of Braddock's command were killed or wounded. One might well think that this display of power, warlike efficiency, and native desperation to assert the right to lands upon which to live, should have

prompted wiser councils than prevailed in the deliberations of the superior race. But such was not the case. The British forces, relieved of the need for organized action against the French, were able to concentrate military power on the frontier, which in time rendered the Indians helpless.

There were desperate actions between the natives and the British forces sent to take over the forts at the upper ends of the lakes, in which the Ojibway chiefs Wawatam and Minavavana had served as Pontiac's lieutenants, but the outcome was inevitable. In 1766 the great Ottawa chief was forced to make peace with the British authorities at a pow-wow held at Oswego, New York.

Pontiac's headquarters was on the Maumee River in Ohio. When the British forces eventually gained the mastery, Pontiac returned to his women, where, sadly, if sullenly, he ruminated upon his life devoted to strenuous efforts to make a place in the sun for his people.

In the year 1769 the Ottawa chief journeyed to the Illinois River country where the French flag still waved with precarious tenure. Thence, Pontiac continued on to St. Louis. He appeared at an Indian celebration at Cahokia as a participant in the festivities. Upon leaving the place, while walking through the woods, he was stealthily attacked from the rear by a Kankaskia Indian, and tomahawked, dying instantly. It developed subsequently that an English trader by the name of Williamson, fearing that Pontiac's presence on the Mississippi portended Indian unrest, possibly warfare, had bribed the Kankaskia to commit the dastardly deed. In Pontiac's time it is probable that there was not an Indian living who had been of fighting age at the time of King

Philip's war in Massachusetts a hundred years previously. The resistance to white aggression had been taken up by succeeding generations of the natives. In Sitting Bull's time, a hundred years after Pontiac, the desperate resistance was still alive, the cause of the warfare remaining the same—the possession of land.

The passing away of Pontiac was not in any sense a sign that the Indians had become reconciled to their fate. In view of the centuries of armed opposition the natives had presented to white aggression it should have become apparent that it was not in the Indian heart to slink away docilely when parties of settlers arrived in their midst with the plainly evident intention of usurping the choice lands as uninvited squatters.

Fifteen years intervened from the time Britain won Canada from France to the beginning of the war between the American colonies and the mother country. When this conflict began, and which was destined to continue for nearly a decade, it was obvious that the American natives should sense hope that somehow and in some fashion the ebb-and-flow of the struggle might contain opportunity for Indian ambitions to fructify.

The Battle of Bunker Hill was fought between the Americans and the British in 1775, and in that year Britain virtually declared war on the colonies. From that time forward it became apparent that practically all of the armed forces the colonials could raise should be required along the Atlantic seaboard, leaving the settlers in the hinterland to take care of themselves as best they could in their relations with the natives.

Long before the settlers in western Pennsylvania and Ohio were in a state of organization making possible

local government, the rapacious Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, reaped a harvest of wealth granting warrants to prospective settlers in the territory of the new frontier, he having asserted the jurisdiction of Virginia over the annexations. Little imagination is required to understand what the natives thought when squatters came along bearing beribboned parchments which they assured the Indians gave them title to property hitherto unseen by, or unoccupied by, white men. Early in 1774, the natives, exasperated, began to make life miserable for the new arrivals. Forays and reprisals became the order of the day.

The Mingos, under Chief Logan, had an established settlement about thirty miles above where Wheeling, West Virginia, is today situated. Logan spoke English with considerable fluency and had been on good terms with the colonial English. Being a prolific fur country, the valley of the Ohio had attracted numerous traders, and these gentry, with characteristic disregard for consequences beyond the immediate present, employed rum as a current staple of trade in purchasing pelts. There was an occasion when a party of unarmed natives, accompanied by their women and children, were thus supplied with strong liquor at a trader's cabin near Logan's village. When the men had consumed sufficient of the fiery liquid to render them helpless all were murdered in cold blood by white men who had concealed themselves nearby waiting for this situation to develop. The slain included the mother, brother and sister of the Mingo chief. To the leader of a council of the white settlers Logan sent a message reading: "Why did you kill my people on Yellow Creek? The white people

killed my kin at Conestoga a great while ago and I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek, and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too, and I have been three times to war since. But the Indians are not angry—only myself.”

Goaded to desperation, the Mingo had taken to the warpath, gathering a harvest of white scalps; in fact, doing precisely what it should have been anticipated he would do under the cruel circumstances imposed.

When this outburst had terminated, Dunmore endeavored to arrange a conference with Logan. To the Governor's messenger Logan dictated a message which in its pathetic appeal for fair dealing would be difficult to duplicate no matter where in the pages of history one might search. He said:

“I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said: ‘Logan is the friend of the white man.’ Colonel Cresap the last spring in cold blood and unprovoked murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice in the beams of peace. But do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!”

Surely here was an intelligence worthy of propitiation. Of course the temper of the times in any given

period dictates most of the decisions and acts of men. Should it be said that among the natives there were few Logans, it may be said with equal probability that among the whites there were few William Penns.

The retribution which Logan heaped upon the heads of those whom he held responsible for the murder of his people prompted the Virginia Governor to stir the settlers to arm and combine forces. After renewing the treaty of peace with the Six Nations Confederacy, Dunmore gathered a force of militia with which he proceeded to Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh). The settlers were to rendezvous at a point on the Ohio below Pittsburgh, where they were to be joined by Dunmore's command. This junction did not take place, as Dunmore had passed the place of rendezvous before the Pennsylvanians arrived there.

When Dunmore arrived at the villages of the Shawnees, farther south, he found their lodges deserted. These warriors, in fact, had, accompanied by a band of Mingos, marched through the forests toward the place designated as the rendezvous of the settlers. Their leader was Chief Cornstalk. Upon arrival the natives discovered that the settlers had been reinforced by a command of Virginia militia, but nevertheless an attack was immediately ordered by Cornstalk, who to his braves repeated the words, "Be strong," while courageously leading them in the attack. In the day's fighting which ensued the natives lost two hundred and thirty warriors, while the white forces lost one hundred and thirty men and half of their commissioned officers. These losses are an index of the sanguinary character of the action, disclosing at once the determination of the

settlers to remove the Indians from their pathway, and the desperate resolve of the red-men to fight hand-to-hand with the stoutest foes in defense of their hunting grounds.

Two weeks later Dunmore called a conference at a place about eighty miles south of the scene of the battle mentioned in the foregoing, which was attended by several Indian chiefs, including Cornstalk. A treaty terminating the present warfare was negotiated in which concessions were made to the Indians more liberal perhaps than they would have been had not the Virginians been eager to return to their own country, where momentous preparations were under way with respect to the part the colony was to play in the War of Independence against the mother country, England.

CHAPTER VII
TREATMENT OF CAPTIVES

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TREATMENT OF CAPTIVES

BEFORE reviewing events on the Indian front at the time of the American War of Independence there is a subject of importance in Indian history which it may be opportune to present in this chapter.

There have been related herein and there are yet to be related occurrences in the unending conflict between the American natives and white colonists and immigrants, which in some histories are characterized as atrocities and as savage brutalities. The truth is that throughout the centuries there was a long series of dreadful horrors committed, in which both sides participated, with little evidence to show that white adventurers, settlers and soldiers were less savage and brutal than the Indians. Nothing is gained from argument to the effect that the Indians were cruel and inhuman to each other before white men landed on these shores. One needs only to keep in mind the main events of European history to realize that in individual and race relations the American natives were no more ruthless nor savage than other peoples, and who had the benefit of recorded histories to guide them.

Nor is it less pointless to say that so far as the European immigrants and the American natives were concerned, the former by invading the domain of the Indians, started the trouble and were adept at showing

the natives methods new to them in inflicting punishment. In the comparisons which may be made from authentic records it appears that the palm of triumph, if awarded, might well have been divided equally between the white, and the red-men.

In early landings of Europeans on the shores of America the visitors were armed with long, metal-pointed spears, swords, battle-axes, and the then new arquebusses. The early Spaniards, particularly, were protected by coats of mail, and metal helmets. At the same time the Indians encountered on the Atlantic coast were equipped with bows and arrows, and with a sort of hatchet which in the course of time was called a tomahawk. The early tomahawks were made of stone, or of deer horn, mounted on a wooden handle and fastened in place by threads of sinew. It was not until the French and English fur-trading companies began operations that the Indians in general procured metal-headed hatchets, or tomahawks. These European-made hatchets were in great demand among the natives, and there is little doubt that many a prime silver-fox pelt left the pack of red hunters in exchange for a fifty-cent hatchet. The metal axe, which could be sharpened, had many uses in the bush. Its use successfully as a weapon was very limited.

It was not until about the time of the war between England and France for the possession of Canada, that the respective Indian allies were supplied generally with what was modern in the way of firearms, although from the beginning of the fur-trading operations the Indians procured a few guns at usurious prices in peltries.

Long before the arrival of white men on the American continent the natives had used bows and arrows, in game hunting and in warfare, and the use of bows and arrows continued among the Indians of the West until the time of the Civil War, 1861-1865, and later. Suitable flint for arrow-points was a commodity, not found in all localities, and consequently became an article of trade and barter among the tribes. In the earliest times arrow-points made from quarry material found in the territory which became the State of Tennessee was much sought after by Indians in the East. Other quarries producing flints of the desired quality were located on the shores of the Delaware, Susquehanna, Connecticut, and other rivers. In the West, in later days, what were regarded as the best arrow-points were those made by the Crow Indians, from obsidian found in the country which is now Yellowstone Park.

Thus, from the beginning of the association of white European immigrants with the American natives, in the possession of, and familiarity with the use of, lethal weapons, the Indians at all times were at a disadvantage. In what degree or to what extent there was variance in the respective white and red methods of inflicting punishment and of wreaking reprisal, obviously each employed the means and the weapons in hand.

Upon occasion, in New England and in Virginia, the display of Indian scalps caused grunts of satisfaction which sounded surprisingly like guttural ejaculations heard in Indian villages when homing braves carried at their belts, scalp-locks, brown or golden-hued.

The early French and English records are replete with instances in which white men, white women and

girls, were taken prisoners, particularly along the frontier ever shifting westward. The fate of captives depended largely upon the circumstances of the time. Captives taken by the Indians following an engagement in which the native loss had been heavy, very often were put to death. Too often torture was resorted to. It required the passing of many decades of time for the natives to learn that dread of torture served only in small measure to restrain white aggression.

The Indian as an abstract example of the genus homo was a composite character of somewhat paradoxical characteristics. His superstitions were innate. At one and the same time he was noble and base, cunning and ignorant, and was inspired with a profound, child-like reverence for observed acts and manifestations he did not understand.

It would be not only inaccurate but unfair to allow the notion to prevail that in every instance in which white women and girls were taken prisoners by Indians, the captives were cruelly treated. Nor should it go unrecorded that there were many instances in which captives later given liberty to return to their own people either declined to give up life in the Indian villages, or returned reluctantly.

There was the historic occurrence, about the year 1635, when the Indians of Connecticut, resenting outrageous treatment on the part of the Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam, burned and pillaged the villages along the north shore of Long Island Sound. Near the site of New Rochelle, New York, the Hutchinson family, living directly in the path of an onrushing band of warriors, was destroyed, with the exception of an eight-

year-old granddaughter of Mrs. Hutchinson. The girl was made captive by a young warrior, who later turned the girl over to the women of his village for safe-keeping. Four years later, in negotiations for a new treaty between the Dutch and the Indians, the identity of the twelve-year-old white girl in the Indian village was disclosed. It was stipulated in the new treaty that the girl, Anna Collins, must be given up, so that she might be sent to relatives in Boston. Either because of good treatment received at the hands of the Indians and their women, or because there was something in the Indian mode of life which strongly appealed to her, the girl was unwilling to depart from the Indian village.

To select another similar occurrence, there was the occasion one hundred years later when the number of white prisoners in Indian villages in western Pennsylvania numbered more than one hundred. The Shawnees, desirous of arranging a peace with the English, agreed to surrender the white captives detained in various Indian villages. Among these were numerous women and girls who had spent several years as residents of the Indian villages, and who had become attached to Indian youths and to the Indian social order. As one early chronicler stated:

"These women were compelled to return with their children to the settlements; yet they did so with reluctance; afterward several of them made their escape, eagerly hastening back to their warrior husbands. . . ."

Numerous other citations of a similar nature might be presented, but such occurrences are not recorded with the idea of making it appear that voluntary social mixture of the white and red races was usual or extensive.

Indeed, the exceptions noted in history rather tend to prove the rule that there was little of attraction in the Indian mode of living for white women who had choice. The much more numerous instances of white men marrying squaws may be accounted for by circumstances which placed white men in Indian communities far removed from white settlements, where the condition of choice did not obtain. This aside from the fact that many attractive, intelligent and accomplished Indian girls became the wives of white men their inferiors in intelligence, deportment and morality.

CHAPTER VIII

NATIVES RESIST WESTERING SETTLERS

ORONO. GI-EN-GWA-TAH. QUEEN ESTHER. JOSEPH
BRANT. ONEIDA. TECUMSEH. CORNPLANTER. RED
JACKET. KICKAPOO. THE PROPHET. BLACK PART-
RIDGE. MCGILLVRAY.

CHAPTER VIII

NATIVES RESIST WESTERING SETTLERS

IN THE play of forces set in motion when the war between the colonies and the mother country began, efforts were made by colonials of prominence either to enlist the warriors of the Six Nations on the side of the Independence party, or to prevail upon them to remain neutral during the impending conflict. On the other hand, the English who had long been in alliance with Indian tribes in the north were engaged in missions of the same nature in their own interests.

Readers of history have puzzled over the identification and the individual interests of the various "Johnsons" whose names appeared contemporaneously about the time of the break between the colonies and England. Colonel William Johnson, later Sir William, was at the head of a body of Colonial militia and Mohawk Indians at Lake George as early as 1755. He had acquired a marked influence over the Mohawks and was made one of the tribe's head chiefs. In the Mohawk valley he built two strongly fortified residences which he designated as rallying posts or headquarters for the warriors of that section. In Indian fashion Sir William married Molly Brant, a sister of the outstanding Indian chief who had been given the name of Joseph Brant. John Johnson was Sir William's son and heir. In 1775 he organized forces in northern New York to aid the Eng-

lish against the Independence party. Guy Johnson had been a British Indian agent prior to 1775, and in the beginning of the war aligned himself as a partisan of the English. It was Guy Johnson who went among the lodges of the Six Nations endeavoring to enlist their support against the Americans.

The accomplishment of prevailing upon the Indians to announce neutrality was quite rightly credited to the American general, Schuyler. From 1775 until 1779 the Iroquois in the main continued as interested observers of events, notwithstanding that in 1776 the Continental Congress authorized the enlistment of a fighting force of two thousand Indians. While the white men were fighting to the death among themselves appeared a good time for the natives of the land to enjoy a measure of surcease from warfare. The Abenakis and Penobscots, however, responded and agreed to stand by the colonists, the noted chief, Orono, being given a commission in the Continental army.

Because for fifteen years before the outbreak of the War of Independence, England possessed Canada, the English were in a favorable position to attack the Continentals in the rear: that is, by approach from the St. Lawrence River, Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. In this lake and river country, particularly habitable and fruitful for the Indian mode of living, there were numerous natives. The English were in favor with the tribes which had been cultivated and befriended by Sir William Johnson; so, from the outset there was the probability that at some stage of the conflict Indian fighting units would be employed against the Continentals, or against the far-flung fringe of set-

tlers in sympathy with the plans to free the American colonies from the rule of England.

Prominent among the native chiefs who were in their prime in 1777 was Joseph Brant, previously mentioned. Brant had but recently returned from England, where he had been received at Court and had been fêted by government and military dignitaries. The handsome and dignified American native had been received with such acclaim that the great artist, Romney, considered it worth his time and effort to paint a portrait of the chief, who, for the sittings, appeared in a splendid Indian ceremonial costume, with all the customary trimmings and plumes.

In northern New York ardent partisans of the English cause were John Butler and his son, Walter N. Butler. John was a colonel in the English service. In the spring of 1778 he prevailed upon Seneca warriors to follow him into Pennsylvania toward what was known as the Wyoming Valley, the Indians being led by the Seneca chief Gi-en-gwa-tah. An Indian ruler of that time who occupied a unique position among the tribes was Queen Esther, whose father was a white man. In the breast of this clever half-breed woman raged conflicting passions, which caused her variously to court the good graces and consideration of young George Washington, and again to sanction utterly cruel measures against both armed and unarmed whites, proposed by warriors called upon to achieve success in warfare. The devastating Butler invasion of Pennsylvania was launched.

There followed then days of devastating conflict between a force of a thousand English partisans and In-

dians, and the aroused settlers led by Colonel Zebulon Butler. The tomahawk was busy along the length of the valley. All this took place a century and a half ago, and what conclusions we arrive at with respect to who was to blame and whether or not there was justification of any sort for the dreadful carnage which ensued, must be based on the meager authentic records of the time. From the viewpoint of the struggling colonists the action of the English in stirring the Indians to enmity and directing Indian attack upon the settlers was dastardly and inexcusable, and no doubt there was truth in this contention. On the other side, the British secretary for the colonies praised the Indians engaged in the action for their "prowess and humanity."

Late in the fall of 1778 the Johnsons and Brant, accompanied by Walter N. Butler and some five hundred Indians, attacked Cherry Valley, where followed a repetition of the desperate scene witnessed in the Wyoming Valley. Even the records preserved by the settlers themselves disclose that on this latter occasion the Mohawk chief, Brant, exercised his authority to the limit to avert needless bloodshed, but his counsel was rejected by Butler, who with uncontrolled rage urged on his destroyers until the slaughter was complete.

When news of the desperate predicament in which the outlying settlers found themselves reached the East the new Congress decided to send Continental soldiers into the Indian country to chastise those who had taken part in the attacks on the settlements. In the summer of 1779 Washington despatched General Sullivan with an army into the heart of the country of the Six Nations,

all of whom, except the Oneidas, had responded to the wiles of the Johnsons and Butlers.

Following the Cherry Valley affair, and prior to the time General Sullivan set out for northwestern New York, a command of Continental militia had penetrated the Onondaga Indian country, where they destroyed three villages, killing the livestock and burning the stored provisions of the natives. In reprisal three hundred Onondaga warriors took to the warpath and, joined by other natives, pursued their way as far down as the Delaware River. In a battle with one hundred and fifty militiamen the Indians were victorious.

Generals Sullivan and Clinton, with five thousand regulars, dispersed a force of eight hundred Indians at Chemung, which in later times became the City of Elmira, New York. Pursuing their course, the Continentals in the course of three weeks destroyed completely forty-three Indian villages in the Genesee Valley and along Cayuga Lake. In addition, vast stores in fields, gardens and in storage were burned. The amount of corn destroyed was said to have been one hundred and sixty thousand bushels. Fruit orchards were cut down and the work of a century in setting up Indian habitations was undone.

It was inevitable that the Indians should be crushed as kernels of grain are crushed which lodge between millstones, or as fragile obstructions are rubbed out by the press of the juggernaut.

The American purpose was to remove Indian menace while the colonies were engaged in the struggle for independence. For a spell the Indians were stunned, but the spirits of those who remained were not crushed.

In the days ahead there was to be reprisal after reprisal along the Ohio and in the country to the west.

At a later date, Cornplanter, a chief of the Senecas, standing in the presence of President Washington said: "When your army entered the country of the Six Nations we called you the 'town destroyer,' and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers."

In the year 1778 a Virginian major, acting in the interest of the Americans, seized the English posts at Kankaskia and Cahokia close to the Mississippi River, and Vincennes on the Wabash River, the latter place being in the heart of Indian territory where the natives were still allies of the British. In these actions the Indians took no active part. In fact, they rather complimented the Americans upon the despatch and resolution with which they had carried out the project.

The war between the English colonies in America and the mother country terminated in 1783. Four years later the American Congress adopted an Ordinance "For the government of the territory of the United States North-West of the Ohio." Treaties were made with the principal Indian tribes providing in some fashion for the extinguishment of aboriginal title to seventeen million acres of land, which followed Virginia's relinquishment of claim to lands in the Ohio region. Forthwith the floodgates for immigration into this fertile land were opened. Within a year twenty thousand settlers, men, women and children, went down the Ohio, settling along its shores.

In 1791 Generals Scott, Wilkinson and St. Clair were

aiding the westering horde in overcoming Indian resistance along the Wabash River. The procedure followed in opening up this region to white settlement had been far from that which centuries of experience with the natives in the East should have dictated. It was simply a case of smash through, and "Who cares for the redskins!"

As winter of that year approached, St. Clair's command was surprised by the Indians and nine hundred members of his force killed or wounded. In turn, in 1794 General Wayne with three thousand regular soldiers overcame the tribes along the Wabash and the Maumee (Pontiac's country of a quarter of a century earlier) and laid waste the Indian villages long established in that neighborhood. The campaign had not proceeded far when the Indian chief, Turtle, advised cessation of hostilities. It was his observation that Indian resistance was in vain; for in Wayne "the white men had a leader who never slept."

The Indians who had been herded westward found themselves in continuous contact with white traders who made avaricious use of strong liquor in trading operations, which had a demoralizing effect upon the natives. Also, due to wanton destruction on the part of white hunters, game became scarce, reducing opportunity for the natives to procure meat to eat, and hides for clothing. In their extremity the Indians looked to the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh (Tikamthi, one who springs), for leadership in the formation of a confederacy of the tribes through the agency of which it might yet be possible to force equitable terms with the new American Government, whose announced objective was that of

taking over territory recognized as having been held by England and France.

Tecumseh, courageous, intrepid, and a born leader, had come to have wide influence over the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamis, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas. In the spring of the year 1810, Tecumseh, then forty-two years of age, with four hundred warriors as an escort met the new Governor of Indiana at Vincennes for a conference. Indicative of the undying spirit of Indian right in the land was the response Tecumseh made when an aide of the Governor, pointing to a chair placed under a tree in front of the meeting-place, said: "Your father requests you to take a seat by his side." Drawing himself up to his full height, and assuming a dignified pose, Tecumseh replied: "My father? . . . The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; on her bosom will I recline," whereupon he seated himself upon the ground.

During the conversation which ensued Tecumseh made the Indian case plain, as he saw it, by stating: "Return these lands and Tecumseh will be the friend of the Americans. He likes not the English, who are continually setting the Indians upon the Americans." It was a foregone conclusion, however, that nothing of advantage to the Indians could come out of the conference, and nothing of that nature came out of it. Two years previously, agents had succeeded in procuring the signatures of a sufficient number of Indian chiefs to effect the transfer of three millions acres of land. For this land in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan the original owners were paid eight thousand dollars in cash, and a

promise of annuities totaling less than twenty-four hundred dollars.

The headquarters of Tecumseh and his one-eyed brother Tenskwatawa (the prophet) was at Prophet's Town, the present site of Battle Ground, Indiana, where Tippecanoe Creek meets the Wabash. Here congregated the Indian leaders who agreed with Tecumseh that the country at large belonged to all of the Indians and that individual chiefs had no legal right to barter away millions of acres for a few dollars. Indian contact with the white man's government was Indian contact with white settlers, traders and adventurers. Indian resentment found as its only outlet such reprisals as Indian arms could make upon settlers and military outposts.

Recollection of Pontiac's progress in forming a confederacy of native warriors, forty-six years previously, caused concern and apprehension in 1809 in the same general territory, when rumors of Tecumseh's plans spread eastward. In that year Erastus Granger, Indian agent for the Government, learned from the noted Seneca chief, Red Jacket (Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, he who wakes them up) that Indian resentment at the land grabbing was mounting. In 1810 Red Jacket, then fifty-eight years or age, visited Washington, where he delivered an oration which attracted wide and favorable comment as a demonstration of Indian attainment. Red Jacket directed attention to the seriousness of the situation along the far-flung border between the young Republic and British possessions to the north, which it was destined was to result in the War of 1812. In this conflict Red Jacket sided with the American forces against

his former allies. Red Jacket, who was of the Wolf Tribe of Senecas, lived until the age of seventy-eight, witnessing the material progress made by the young Republic until the end of Monroe's administration.

The response of the Government to the appeals of the settlers in Indiana was to despatch General Harrison to the head of navigation on the Wabash, Terre Haute, and here conferences were held between Harrison and Tecumseh and the latter's brother, the Prophet. Because of the determination on the part of the whites to regard the Indian inhabitants encountered as being in the nature of bothersome reptiles—an annoyance to be summarily removed or destroyed—little came of the conferences except that each side had added time to prepare for conflict.

Sensing that the warriors under his command were not sufficiently numerous, ill-equipped as they were with a miscellany of arms, to wage a winning contest with the Governor's eight hundred trained and well-equipped soldiers, Tecumseh journeyed to the south, to the lands of the Creeks, Chickasas and Choctaws, hoping that he could prevail upon the southern natives to lend assistance in the north, or to engage in a co-operative undertaking of the same nature against encroaching whites.

In this mission he was not successful, as the Southern Indians had local difficulties of their own at the time which seemed to them of more immediate importance. During Tecumseh's absence from Indiana occurred to Harrison as an opportune time to come to grips with the Indian organization in rendezvous at Tippecanoe. The militia once in motion, the Indians, under command of

the Prophet, prepared for combat. In an early morning battle fought on November 7, 1811, the Indians were repulsed with a loss of several hundred warriors. Much of the four hours' fighting was of a hand-to-hand nature in which individuals on both sides displayed unquestioned courage and bravery. The loss among the white troops was one hundred and eighty-five men killed or wounded.

On his return from the south Tecumseh deplored the precipitation of hostilities in the Indiana country. While Government forces were becoming stronger and Indian forces weaker, in his view was no time to court annihilation. In the War of 1812, which soon opened, Tecumseh sided with the Americans against the British. It is of passing interest here to record also that in this war, John Brant, son of Joseph Brant, the renowned Mohawk chief, served as an ally of the British.

The fighting of 1812 between the British and the American States created for the natives a situation much the same as that which existed during the war of the Revolution thirty-seven years earlier. When they had surcease from exploitation, cajoling, or coercion they availed themselves of the opportunity to institute, farther west, renewed opposition to the infiltration of westering settlers and traders. The American outpost at Fort Dearborn (Chicago) attracted the attention of the natives of the mid-west. Black Partridge, a Pottawatomie chief on friendly terms with the fort's commander, advised that officer that the red warriors had determined upon an attack. There was a considerable amount of stores at the fort, and the decision was made to distribute these supplies among the Indians to ap-

peace them, and for the garrison and the few settlers in the neighborhood to retreat to Fort Wayne. Poor judgment on the part of the fort's commander in releasing the stores before beginning the march eastward resulted in the calvacade being overtaken by seven hundred warriors who, remembering what had taken place in Ohio and Indiana, fell upon the retreating marchers, killing about fifty of the whites and burning Fort Dearborn to the ground.

In the fall of 1812 volunteer military groups were formed in Ohio and Michigan with the determination to rid the country of the red-men. Throughout Ohio, Indiana and Illinois Indian plantations, fields, villages and lodges were desolated by attacks, similar to what took place thirty-three years earlier in the Iroquois country in New York. Hostilities continued until about the middle of the year 1813. In this war it is to be remembered that both British and American forces employed Indian allies. In a sanguinary affair between British and American forces at Fort Miami, Tecumseh protected numerous captives from massacre, exercising more humane consideration than that in evidence on the part of some of the white officers.

This war between Great Britain and the United States terminated, technically at least, when the treaty of peace was signed in December, 1814. Thenceforward the American natives escaped from the crushing area between the millstones, but promptly found themselves in the way of the juggernaut.

CHAPTER IX

GOLD FOR INDIAN SCALPS

WEATHERFORD. CREEK. OSCEOLA. SEMINOLE. MICANOPY. CHEROKEE. KEOKUK. TAMMANY. BLACK HAWK. PIANKISHAW. WEAS. PEORIA. KONZA. PUNCAH. OTTOE. OSAGE. MENOMINEE. TOM STARR.

CHAPTER IX

GOLD FOR INDIAN SCALPS

IT WILL be recalled that in the year 1736 the Chickasas and the Creeks in the far South were in strong force and able to hold their own against the French who were masters in the far-flung Louisiana country extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border beyond the headwaters of the Mississippi River. And, although the American colonies freed themselves from the rule of England in 1783, it was not until 1803 that the Louisiana territory through the center of North America was purchased from France by the United States.

In the year 1790 President Washington prevailed upon the half-breed leader of the Creek Indians, whose name was McGillivray, with headquarters on the Gulf, to come to New York accompanied by a considerable retinue of Creeks, to negotiate a treaty. At this time the Creeks, Chickasas and Choctaws numbered about thirty-five thousand.

There had recently been organized in New York the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, whose patrons were Christopher Columbus and a legendary Indian chief named Tammany. This society received and entertained the Creek delegates on this momentous occasion.

Under such auspicious circumstances obviously it was

not difficult for the respective plenipotentiaries to arrange an equable pact. The treaty provided that all territory south and west of the Oconee River (in portions of which some Georgians already had settled) was secured to the natives, and all lands east of that river were ceded to the United States for white occupation. The agreement carried stipulations insuring continued mutual friendship, together with a secret proviso that each year fifteen hundred dollars in money was to be distributed among the members of the tribe.

It transpired that while Tecumseh's visit with the Creeks in 1811 did not turn out to be of advantage to him in his campaign in Ohio, the eloquence of his arguments aroused the natives in Alabama and west Georgia to such a pitch that in the summer of 1813, under the leadership of the noted chief, Weatherford (Red Eagle), these people effected a concentration of forces for the purpose of forcing a more liberal understanding with the whites thereabouts.

There is little doubt that British agents in Florida, which remained a Spanish possession until the year 1821, were instrumental in stirring the Creeks to action against the American authorities. It was said that the British agent at Pensacola, Florida, had offered the Indians five dollars for each white scalp brought to him.

In August, 1813, the Creeks captured Fort Mimms on the east shore of the Alabama River. The fort was burned and in the ensuing disorder three hundred men, women and children were destroyed. Reprisal was sure to be swift and overwhelming. The white population of Alabama and Tennessee had so grown that no difficulty was experienced in at once raising a force of nearly

four thousand men eager to attack the Creeks. At Tallahassee, Alabama, in November, two hundred Indians resident there were killed, not one escaping death, and the place was burned. At Talladega, east of the Coosa River, in a pitched battle hundreds of the natives were killed. At the Indian villages Autoesse and Econachaca, similar destruction took place. Troopers pursued fleeing natives to the woods and killed every one overtaken.

In January, 1814, General Jackson with a force of one thousand men encamped near the Indian village Emucfau on the Tallapoosa River. He was at once attacked by the Creeks and although the issue of the battle was indecisive, Jackson prudently retreated to Fort Strother.

The natives then concentrated about twelve thousand of their people at Tohopeka on the Tallapoosa. The concentration included women and children of the Creek warriors. Here large stores of food were gathered, and log breastworks were thrown up in anticipation of attack and siege.

The attack soon was launched by General Jackson, supported by five thousand armed men, among whom was ensign Sam Houston. Also, there were some Choctaw Indians, at the time in disagreement with the Creeks. The Indian encampment was set on fire and those who sought to escape were shot down. None offered to surrender, and when the attack ended three hundred Creek warriors lay dead in the ruins of the camp, leaving at the mercy of the victors hundreds of Indian widows and orphans.

Weatherford, the Creek chief, who escaped the slaughter, gathered the remnants of the Creeks around

him and decided to give up the struggle for Indian rights. This was in March, 1814. In the previous November, Weatherford's own village, Econachaca, had been desolated by General Claiborne. On that occasion, when further resistance became useless, Weatherford escaped the fate of his warriors by leaving the scene mounted on a magnificent gray horse. Hotly pursued, he made his way to the rim of a high bluff. A glance to the rear told him there was but one way to escape; but one thing to do. He put spurs to his horse, and the courageous beast, with its master on its back, leaped outward into space, and after a breath-taking drop fell into the bosom of the river at the foot of the bluff. Still mounted, and clinging to his rifle, Weatherford made his way safely to the opposite bank.

After the destruction of Tohopeka, Weatherford made his way to the camp of Jackson, where he addressed the white general thus:

"I am in your power. Do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them and fought them bravely. My warriors are all gone now and I can do no more. When there was a chance for success, I never asked for peace. There is none now and I ask it for the remnant of my nation."

As he thus spoke the indomitable Creek stood erect, folded his arms and offered his words with dignity and control, making a favorable and lasting impression upon Jackson, his Nemesis.

Thus came into possession of the United States a vast area of highly desirable land, taken from the Creeks in compensation for the expense incurred in destroying the

Creek nation. Along the Gulf of Mexico were still carried on machinations said to have been sponsored by British agents and by the Spaniards in Florida, which gave the Creeks false hope of concerted action against the United States which might yet save for the natives some part of their heritage, but this proved to be just one more forlorn hope. The power of the Creeks to resist white advance into their lands was crushed beyond repair.

The Seminole (Wanderers) Indians, of Creek stock, in Florida, numbering at that time about thirteen thousand, fearing that a like fate awaited them at the hands of the Spanish, Americans, or both, became restless in 1817, and, joined by wandering units of dispossessed Creeks, made raids into Georgia and Alabama, but these forays were arrested by vigorous action on the part of American troops.

The Cherokees in Georgia had made such progress in the arts of peace that they had friends at court. The Cherokee treaty of 1828 began:

“Whereas, it being the anxious desire of the Government of the United States to secure to the Cherokee nation of Indians a permanent home, and which shall, under the most solemn guarantee of the United States, be and remain theirs forever, a home that shall never in all future time be embarrassed by having extended around it lines, or placed over it the jurisdiction of a State or Territory, not be pressed upon by the extension over it in any way of the limits of any existing State or Territory. . . .” (U. S. Statutes at large, vol. vii., p. 311.)

A decade later the Government, at the request of the State of Georgia, compelled the Cherokees to vacate the lands thus guaranteed to them, and move to Indian

Territory, over which later a national territorial government was established, and subsequently a State government.

In Georgia the Cherokees successfully carried on agriculture; had erected and occupied residences of permanent construction, and had instituted churches and schools. Before the exodus began they had in operation a printing establishment.

With an alphabet of the Indian language, devised by the Cherokee Sequoyah, a newspaper bearing the name *Cherokee Phoenix* was printed at New Echota, Georgia, from 1828 until 1832, when it was suppressed by direction of the State Government. The news sheet was re-established three years later in the western reserve in Indian Territory.

As the pressure upon the Cherokees increased, urging them westward, certain of the chiefs of the Seminoles in East Florida reached the conclusion that it would no doubt be prudent to accept the fate of the Creeks, Cherokees and Choctaws and agree to a shift westward beyond the Mississippi; but here again in history rose up the men of the hour when need called. Chiefs in the persons of the indomitable Osceola, sometimes called Powell, and Micanopy (Head Chief), began a desolating attack upon the settlers in Florida. Bitter warfare between the Seminoles, and American forces estimated to total nine thousand men, continued until 1842, at the end of which there was no evidence of the Seminoles being any less insistent that they be left alone and allowed to occupy their ancient holdings. Indeed, had it been possible then to lift the veil of the future it should

have been seen that a hundred years later the Seminoles would still be in Florida in considerable numbers.

During the decade of hostilities directed by Osceola, that chief displayed military leadership which time after time resulted in the frustration of plans laid down by the Government's military leaders. The everglades, morasses and swamps of the territory in which the contest moved afforded the natives opportunities to stage battles at places where the white troops were at a disadvantage, but where Indian endurance enabled the natives to wreak havoc with organized military commands, even though the latter were much better armed.

It is a matter of record that during this war the army employed the recently invented Colt's revolvers which, although at first not always dependable, gave the officers obvious advantages in close-up fighting.

On an occasion in December, 1837, Osceola with a small party of followers captured General Thompson and five of his staff, and in revenge for past miseries put all of them to death. Later, General Jesup received Osceola under a flag of truce for parley. Just as the chief rose to address the assemblage he was seized from behind and bound, later being sent to Fort Moultrie, where in the course of time it was given out that he had died of a fever. Violation of the traditional protection of the white flag by the white officers deprived that symbol of its useful significance so far as the Seminoles were concerned. There was an occasion during the days of bitter conflict when Osceola gave utterance to a pathetic pronouncement which in typical Indian directness disclosed his reason for tenaciously clinging to and fighting for the land of his birth. It was: "Here I

hunted as a boy; here my father lies buried; here I wish to die."

Osceola was born on the Tallapoosa River in 1803. His paternal grandfather was a Scot who had married an Indian woman. Although but twenty-nine years of age in 1832, Osceola was recognized by the Seminoles as a warrior leader, notwithstanding that he was not a tribal chief either by descent or by election.

So far as the Cherokees were concerned, the transfer of the majority of these people to lands in the West did not remove from their ancient holdings in the Southeast all marks and traces of their long residence there. For a half-century or longer after their departure white settlers remembered and discussed exciting episodes in which the Cherokees played important parts. Behind them, also, they left imprints which even the destroyer Time is not likely to eradicate. Here and there throughout Tennessee, northern Georgia, and North Carolina remain lovely Cherokee names, such as Tallulah, Unaka, Ocoee, Chilhowee, Nantahala, Swannanoa, Santeetlah, Tuckaleeche and Oostanaula. They are as euphonious and as characteristic as New England place names of Indian origin, such as Kennebec, Ossipee, Nahant, Nantucket, Seaconnet, Mattapoisett and Winepesaukee.

In 1832 General Jackson was elected President of the United States, and at that time murmurings began in the Southern States with reference to States' rights, which thirty years later had so grown in portent that the country was for four years convulsed in civil war. When Jackson became president his experience with the southern natives had been such he concluded that if all

of the Indians east of the Mississippi River could be herded onto lands set apart for them west of that stream, all might be well. Treaties made with the tribes had this purpose in view; but again the "pushing" procedure appears to have been accelerated unwisely on the part of the whites.

From this circumstance came the Black Hawk War, so-called. A treaty had been made with the Indian chief Kiyo-kaga, or Keokuk (Watchful Fox), of the Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes. At that time the territory which became the State of Wisconsin was virgin wilderness. Black Hawk, a renowned Sac, learning of the Keokuk treaty, repudiated it utterly, as he could see no supportable reason why the remaining Indians should have to leave the country of woods, lakes and rivers to eke out a precarious existence on the plains of the West.

Returning from an inspection of the western lands in 1832, Black Hawk, then sixty-five years of age, roused the tribes mentioned and began a war of resistance which he hoped should be of a character in results that the Government would withhold military pressure designed to force the Indians to cross the Mississippi. After numerous adventuring settlers had been killed, Government forces under General Atkinson defeated the natives and took Black Hawk prisoner. Three thousand of his followers were rounded up and escorted by the military to the region of Des Moines, Iowa.

Black Hawk, his two sons and seven of his warriors were taken on a tour of the Eastern cities, and later were held as hostages at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, eventually being released. During this interval the

eviction had been completed and his people were perforce residents of the plains of the West. By government action he had been deposed as chief, his rank and power being awarded to Keokuk.

Black Hawk was born at Kankaskia, in the Illinois country, in the year 1767. During the War of 1812, his sympathies had been with the British. His Indian name was Ma-ka-tae-mish-kia-kiak. He died on October 3, 1838, at the age of seventy-one. As Philip had said one hundred and sixty-three years earlier, Black Hawk might well have repeated: "Now my heart breaks: I am ready to die."

Thus, by the year 1832 the Indian "question" had been pretty well settled east of the Mississippi River—at least to the satisfaction of the white population gradually, relentlessly, pushing westward.

A map showing the disposition of the Indian tribes in the year 1840 is illuminating as evidence of what had become of most of the Indians of the East by that time. In the newly established Indian Territory the following tribes were domiciled: Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Piankashaws, Weas, Peorias, Konzas, Kickapoos, Puncahs, Senecas, Ottoes, Osages. The latter two tribes had for many years been natives of the mid-West. This map shows also that in Iowa the Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, and some Sioux were located. In northern Wisconsin the Menominies, and miscellaneous bands of what were designated as "New York" Indians had been given lands. The Chippewas alone remained in their ancient hunting grounds, north of the Great Lakes, and in the Minnesota lake region.

In the early days in Indian country east of the Great

Lakes tribal units of the Iroquois Confederacy were divided into clans, such as the Wolf, the Bear, the Turtle. Of the Oneidas, who were shifted to Wisconsin, as stated in the foregoing, members of the Turtle Clan were prominent. The Oneidas who were separated from their friends and relatives in New York State and domiciled in the wilderness of Wisconsin were permitted to retain tribal organization. President Van Buren named Daniel Bread head chief of the Oneidas in the Wisconsin reservation. That the Turtle Clan of the Oneidas continued in the Western country to maintain tribal government under native chiefs is evidenced by the fact that as late as the year 1935 a grandson of Daniel Bread was in office as chief of the Wisconsin Indians. Intermarriage and the demands of custom, where association with the white race was close, resulted in the old chief's grandson having the name of Frank F. Cornelius. His residence was at Kaukauna, Wisconsin. He died in April, 1935.

The "New York" Indians mentioned were of the Iroquois people. It was not until after 1841 that considerable numbers of these natives had moved westward. Some of the Senecas had gone to the newly established Indian Territory, but on a reservation at Tonawanda, near Buffalo, New York, numerous Senecas still clung to their lands and habitations. Their living conditions and domestic habits were about on a plane with those of the white settlers in that neighborhood at the time. In 1840 there were twenty-six States in the Union, with a total population, free and slave, of nineteen and one-half millions. Where reservations had been set aside in the East for Indian concentration they

were when first established of fairly liberal dimensions, but the spreading out of towns, and increase in the acreage demanded by white settlers, soon brought government action in contracting the areas allowed the natives.

Contemporary literature of the time supports the view that the Indians of New York State, prior to the forced removal of a majority of them to western territory, had so progressed that they had in numerous instances become Christians, and as citizens were as creditable as their crowding neighbors. One publicist in 1840 wrote: "It is deplorable that the remaining Senecas are forcibly to be moved from their already restricted holdings to lands beyond the Mississippi where they will be destroyed by the warlike tribes."

Within two generations the Senecas had undergone change from that of welcome allies or dreaded enemies of the warpath, to industrious tillers of the soil. Their houses were made of hewn logs, with the upper portion framed, and with glass windows, and were equally as comfortable as those of the white settlers. In dress they had adopted the customs of the whites, and although the women and girls continued partial to blankets of bright hues, and beautifully embroidered and beaded moccasins, at the produce market in the nearby village of Buffalo the men were in general indistinguishable from the tanned settlers who competed with them in marketing grains and vegetables.

In modern times five thousand, five hundred Indians reside in New York State on seven small reservations, half of them Senecas. Tribe names have come to be linked with the names of the reservations, thus, the Cat-

taraugus Senecas, St. Regis Mohawks, Alleghany and Tonawanda Indians, et cetera.

As the sun set on Iroquois military prowess, the Senecas and other members of the once powerful Indian nation had much to show in the way of social and domestic advancement as a result of their contact and association with the more helpful element of the white immigrants. Their work in stemming white encroachment upon Indian lands was done. In the far West other Indians were to take up the challenge, renewing angry opposition which was to last with little surcease for forty years.

The removal of the Eastern Indians to the newly established Indian Territory took them to a land of a different nature and a different climate to that in which they had been reared. Another difficulty which developed was that with the arrival of the Indians in the arid open spaces, and in the canyons and ravines of the foothills, appeared simultaneously a miscellany of "bad-men" bent upon hiding out among the tribes, or of profiting somehow by mingling with the disheartened strangers.

The Federal Government had promised the Indians protection from all intruding, criminal whites, but the promise was not carried out. As a matter of form, the court for the Western District of Arkansas was given jurisdiction over all the whites in the territory. The Indian courts, adequate for tribal business, had no control over white intruders. Trained in crime, bold and fearless, their base appetites whetted by a desire for adventure, increasing arrivals of this citizenry made up a disturbing element in the new Indian country.

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It was not until 1875, when Judge Isaac C. Parker was sent to Fort Smith by President Grant, that a pretense was made of protecting the members of the tribes from the depredations of white men. Had the Indians taken the law in their own hands to rid themselves of the menace, no doubt the military would have been sent into the territory to wreak reprisals.

Whiskey pedlars rode at will through the Indian encampments. Battling white feudists spilled over into the Territory in savage warfare, and horse-thieves fled to the sanctuary of the reservation when pursued. At the time Judge Parker took his seat Indian Territory contained about sixty thousand persons, forty thousand of whom were Indians. Actually, the court had no jurisdiction over the Indian population except where one of the parties concerned was white. During Judge Parker's twenty years' tenure of office sixty-five of his official deputies were killed in fights with law-breakers. It was twenty years of desperate existence for the Indians, but in the end law and order prevailed. It was inescapable that contact with the worst element of white law-breakers should have a debasing effect upon Indians not thoroughly cowed by repressive measures, and those individual tribesmen inclined to mischief-making. Near the canebrakes of the Canadian River a Cherokee known as Tom Starr had a ranch. Starr was a man of giant stature, cool, cautious, and with a bent for strong-arm emprise. It was at this ranch that the infamous Younger brothers and their outlaw associates made their headquarters in that territory; in fact, the place was known as Youngers' Bend. Following the capture of the last

of the Younger gang, in 1876, the ranch of the Cherokee took on a new history of tranquillity.

In view of the fact that the gradual settlement of the country south and west from the first European settlements in New England, Virginia and the Carolinas, had been accomplished against the continuous and unabated opposition of the American natives, it is a tribute to the race persistence of the Indians that in 1840 so many of them remained alive.

If there is an ordained fate for humans it may be no mere fancy that the prescient Arbiter of Destiny, foreseeing the need for a virile, bold and resolute race of men to conquer the forests, prairies, and mountain wildernesses of America, interposed along the pathways to empire a foe capable of administering a schooling such as might prepare the white men for the arduous tasks ahead of them in the years to come. White men who prevailed over Indian courage and purpose were no weaklings. Those who survived Indian challenge were of the brawn, ardor and mettle requisite to open up the vast storehouses of nature in the prolific West; to burrow into the rocky hills for precious metals, and to build great cities where once the gloomy avenues through the forests were silent save for the growls of predatory animals as in their dumb discourse they warned their kind to respect personal property.

CHAPTER X

AMERICAN NATIVES IN PRAIRIE COUNTRY

ILLINOIS. KANKASKIA. PEORIA. TAMAROA. MOINGONA. MIAMI. WAPOO. MASCOUTIN. CHICKASA. ARKANSAS. NATCHEZ. COROA. OUMA. TAENSA. MOTANTEE. KICKAPOO. ASSONI. CADDO. ACQUIPAGUENTIN. NARRHETOBA. SIOUX. WETAPAHOTA. KIOWA. CASTAHANA. CATAKA. DOTOMI. PADOUCA. WASBASHA. SAUK. AYAUWAY. KANINAVIESCH. WEHRUSHHAH. DACORTA. MADOWESIAN. TETON. OKANDANDA. MINNAKENOZZO. SAONE. WAHPATONE. MIDAWARCARTON. WAHPOTOOTA. SISTASOONE. ASSINIBOINE. KNISTEN-AUX. ANNAHAWAY. MANDAN. MINNETAREE. CHEYENNE. RICARA. CROW. PAUNCH. FALL. GROS VENTRE. PIEGAN. BLOOD. BLACKFEET. FLATHEAD. SNAKE. PAHKEE. NEZ PERCÉ.

CHAPTER X

AMERICAN NATIVES IN PRAIRIE COUNTRY

NOTWITHSTANDING that at the present time, and probably for many years to come, may be found in almost every State east of the Mississippi River, communities of Indians, living on restricted allotted lands, the year 1840 may be regarded as the approximate time when many of the members of the eastern tribes were herded to reservations west of the Father of Waters. A subject often discussed is, whether or not the Indians of the west were those, or the descendants of those, who may have fled westward from the eastern states following defeat in the early wars with the Spanish, English, French and Dutch.

An account of the Indians of the west is of interest because it was in that territory that the end came, after centuries of struggle, to Indian hope to be allowed to live otherwise than in accord with white men's customs. In the year 1840, Tuscaloosa, Powhatan, Massasoit, Sassacus, Pontiac, Logan, Brant, Tecumseh, Osceola, Black Hawk, and numerous other renowned Indian leaders were long dead. The fierce determination of these chieftains to fight and die for the preservation of spacious hunting grounds for their peoples, was to be taken up in the west by Red Cloud, Gall, Chief Joseph, Crazy Horse, Geronimo, Sitting Bull, Roman Nose,

Crow Wing, Black Kettle, and other equally courageous and valiant native leaders.

The only information available on the subject is that contained in the papers and reports of the early French explorers, from which we learn that some years before the time of King Philip's War in New England, French fur-traders who penetrated to the western end of Lake Superior found there numerous Sioux, and some Huron Indians; the latter, perhaps, some of those who escaped the wrath of the Iroquois in 1648, or in later years, while internecine warfare raged in eastern Canada. In 1672, Marquette and Joliet on the Illinois River had a meeting at which six hundred warriors of the Illinois nation were present, the Frenchmen being able to converse with them in the Algonquin tongue. The Illinois included the Kankaskias, Peorias, Tamaroas, Moin-gonas, and in some degree, the Miamis and Piankishaws.

In 1681, La Salle found among the Illinois a few Indians who had left Connecticut at the close of the war there in which Philip's people were vanquished, also some Abenakis from Maine, and some Mohegans from the region north of Connecticut. Six years previously, at a village of the Illinois, Marquette addressed a conference at which were present, so it was reported, five hundred chiefs, fifteen hundred warriors, besides numerous women and children, in all about seven thousand five hundred natives. In 1679 La Salle, Tonty and Hennepin counted four hundred and sixty Indian lodges at the main village of the Illinois, situated not far from the site of Utica, Illinois. Neighboring tribes were the Wapoos and Mascoutins. The latter were also known as the "Fire" Indians, allied with the

Sacs and Foxes. At times members of the Chickasa and Arkansas tribes visited the villages of the Illinois, also members of the Osage nation.

Farther down the Mississippi, La Salle encountered the Natchez, Coroas, Oumas, Quinipissas, Tangiboa, Taensas, Kappas, Chaouanons (Shawnees), Kious, Montantees, and Kickapoos. Near the Sabine River, Assonis were encountered, and on the Red River, Caddoes, otherwise known as Cadidaquis. In 1680, Hennepin found Sioux on the Mississippi, north of the Illinois River, and on the shores of Lake Michigan, Pottawatomies.

At that time the head chief of the Illinois nation was Chassagoac, and Hennepin, in his reports mentioned the name of Aquipaguentin, a chief; and Narrhetoba, a warrior, prominent Sioux on the Mississippi, near where Minneapolis is now situated. In 1677 the explorer, Carver, found Chippewas as well as Sioux on the upper Mississippi, and the explorer, Bourgemon, reported visiting, in 1724, a flourishing Indian nation, the Padoucas, resident in what later became eastern Colorado. But by the time the Lewis and Clarke expedition passed that neighborhood in 1804, this group had dwindled so that they numbered less than two thousand, known in bands as the Wetapahota, Kiowa, Castahana, Cataka and Dotomi.

On La Salle's ill-fated expedition in the Gulf of Mexico, 1685, he came upon members of the Ceni tribe who possessed much European gear procured from the Comanches along the Mexican border, who in turn had procured the goods, also horses, from the Spaniards to the south.

The country at the headwaters of the Mississippi; that drained by the remote tributaries of the Missouri, and the vast domain west and north of Lake Superior, as noted, was claimed by France. It was the stubborn warfare which continued for many years in the St. Lawrence valley, constituting an unending menace to the fur traffic from the west to Montreal, which prompted La Salle to lay plans to provide access to the upper Mississippi, and tributary country, other than by way of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This, and the impelling urge for discovery, were the reasons for the journey down the Mississippi in 1681, and the later approach by ship through the Gulf of Mexico, 1684-1685.

Amplifying the claims announced by Saint-Lusson at Sault Ste Marie, in 1671, La Salle, in April, 1682, upon reaching the estuary of the Mississippi, issued a Proclamation taking possession for the King of France, of the vast territory to be known as Louisiana, northward from the Gulf of Mexico, and extending from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains.

Thus, it may be seen that a century before England came into possession of eastern Canada, and more than a century before the American colonies began the War of Independence, Indians in great numbers were known to inhabit the forests and plains of the West.

One does not proceed far in the search for authentic Indian history in the West before discovering a close relationship between the projects of the early fur-gathering companies, and the destiny of the natives. From what follows, important dates may serve to establish informative perspective.

The Company of London Merchants, chartered in

1669, by Charles the Second, known as the Hudson Bay Company, held the exclusive right to establish trading-posts around Hudson Bay, and along the waterways tributary thereto. Canada, then held by France, had its own French Fur Company. Britain's conquest of Canada in 1763 automatically eliminated the French trading company. In 1776, however, some Scottish merchants established a central Post at Michilimackinac, which, in 1783, led to the formation of the North-West Company. This was nearly one hundred years before the building of railroads through that region, when travel was by way of the lakes, rivers, portages and through the virgin bush. The French barrier in mid-America removed by the Louisiana Purchase opened the way for overland exploration by Americans, of the country adjacent to the Mississippi, Missouri, Platte and other arteries of the great West.

Occasional adventuring trappers, perhaps a few outlaws seeking haven beyond the pale of the law, and a sprinkling of seekers of strange adventure had mingled with the Indians of the far West in the seventeen hundreds. Some of these gentry became partisans of the French, or English fur companies, some of them carried on independently as trappers or as traders, and some became "squawmen." The earliest authentic American records are those which began in 1804, and in these new names of Indian tribes appear.

Cortez, the Spanish explorer, shortly after the discovery of America found a superior civilization in Mexico, which the Spaniards proceeded to loot and destroy. Natives from that country no doubt had for centuries wandered north of the Rio Grande into our

Western regions; or, if one theory of the origin of the American natives has substance, returned northward centuries after their forebears had journeyed to Mexico and South America.

In any event, in our West were found tribes which in their physical aspects and facial lineaments suggested relationship between the North American Indians and those from the warmer climes farther south.

Picking up the history of the western Indians in the year 1804, provides that the conditions under which they were living may be set down as of a date when we know the Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and those of the Six Nations, all were still domiciled on their ancient lands in the East.

Early in the eighteen hundreds the most advanced tribe in the West appears to have been the Osages, situated along the headwaters of the Osage River, which empties into the Missouri below Jefferson City. The French had named them the Wasbashes, (Red Leaves). They numbered about thirteen hundred warriors, or about four thousand persons in all, their influence extending as far as the Arkansas River. These people were of excellent physical make-up and had a good workable knowledge of agriculture.

At this time, also, the once powerful Ottoes (Wattoa, meaning "Leachers") were in force west of the Missouri, although compared with their former state they were in a declining condition, having been pushed back from the Missouri to tributaries of the Platte, largely due to pressure of the Sauk Indians of the Mississippi valley. The Sauks, Ayauways, and Sioux

from farther north appear to have made periodical forays against the Osages and Ottoes. The latter tribe got along on better terms with the Pawnees of the Platte country. The Pawnees ranged along the Republican River as well as the Platte, the several bands numbering about five thousand persons, of whom a third were warriors. They lived largely on corn and buffalo meat, and resided in villages.

Toward the headwaters of the Platte wandered a band of about twelve hundred Kaninaviesch, probably emigrees from the Pawnee nation. Between the headwaters of the Platte and the foothills of the mountains at this time roamed three hundred Straitan, or Kite Indians, whose reputation for ferocity was established among neighboring tribes. The name "Kite" was given them because of their appearance of flying from place to place mounted on fleet ponies.

Where the Missouri Indians are referred to in historical works much depends upon the date of the reference. By 1804 there were but few Missouris remaining, and these mingled with the Osages and Pawnees. In language a possible relationship of these tribes with distant forebears is indicated by their use of the word "Inca" to signify a chief. The head chief of the Ottoes at this time was Weahrushhah, which translated means "Little Thief." Subordinate chiefs were Shongotongo (Big Horse), Shosguscan (White Horse), and Wethea (Hospitality). The Ottoes were quite successful as agriculturists, having cultivated edible species of vegetables and watermelons.

A village of the Maha tribe, consisting of three hundred lodges, was situated not far from the later

established Winnebago Indian reservation between Council Bluffs and Sioux City, Iowa. In 1800 the village was burned by the people after four hundred men had died there of what was later determined to have been smallpox, no doubt due to lack of sanitary conditions. Typical names of individual Indians in this neighborhood in 1804 were: Missouri: Karkapaha (Crow's Head); Nenasawa (Black Cat). Ottoes: Sanonona (Iron Eyes); Neswaunja (Big Ox); Stagaunja (Big Blue Eyes); and Wasashaco (Brave Man).

In the early eighteen hundreds the Sioux were in considerable numbers in the neighborhood of what later became Yankton, South Dakota. Chiefs in power then were Weucha (Shake Hand), Pawnaoneaphahbe (Struck by the Pawnee), and Aweaweache (Half-Man). It appears the latter was a modest fellow, even if brave and courageous. When complimented upon a particularly brave deed he interrupted: "I am no warrior; I am only half a man." What were named the Yankton Sioux numbered in 1804 about two hundred warriors and inhabited the neighborhood of the Jacques River. They were decorative as to necklaces of bear's claws, porcupine quills and feathers. Westward toward the Black Hills they were in occasional warfare with the Kite Indians.

The early French explorer, Carver, in his writings refers to the Sioux found on the Mississippi River as the Madowesians; but nowhere else are they so named. Variouslly they were known as the Sioux or Dacorta (Dakota). By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sioux overran a considerable territory, extending from St. Anthony's Falls (Minneapolis) westward to

the Red River, the Dakota River, and the White River, to the Black Hills, as well as northward into Canada.

Locally, and for the purpose of distinguishing particular bands or villages, they were known as the Teton Sioux, Teton Okandandas, Teton Minnakenozzo, Teton Saone, Wahpatone, Midawarcarton, Wahpotoota, and Sistasoone. These groups numbered twenty-four hundred warriors in 1804, their influence extending well along the Cheyenne River.

The Teton Okandandas made their headquarters on both sides of the Missouri River below the mouth of the Cheyenne. In 1804 there were about two hundred warriors in the band. The head chief was Untongasabaw (Black Buffalo). The second in command was Tortohonga (The Partisan). The third in line of chiefs was Tartongawaka (Buffalo Medicine); while the name of an outstanding warrior was Matocoquepa (Second Bear).

The council room of this band was in the form of three-quarters of a circle, covered at the top and sides with skins well dressed and sewed together, in which about one hundred persons could find sitting room.

At ceremonies the cooked carcass of a dog was considered a delicacy. They ate also a dish later called pemmican, but by the Sioux called "pemitigon," made of buffalo meat, dried or jerked, pounded and mixed raw with grease and a species of potato and corn, or "hommony." As utensils they had spoons made from the horns of goats and other animals, also bark platters, as well as some metal utensils procured from the early Spanish and French traders who had found their ways up the Missouri.

The lodges or cabins were neatly constructed, about one hundred cabins making a village. They were conical in shape, built with poles fifteen to twenty feet in height, covered over with white skins. These lodges could be taken down quickly for transportation to other locations, as pressure from enemies, or need to follow game dictated.

The Cheyenne Indians roamed the country in the Black Hills adjacent to the tributaries of the Cheyenne River. The Ricaras appear to have held sway along the Missouri north of the Cheyenne River. These Indians had made some progress in making willow and straw mats, and buffalo-skin canoes. They raised corn, beans and potatoes which varied the meat diet. Chiefs of the Ricaras early in the nineteenth century were Kakawissassa (Lightning Crow), Pocasse (Hay), and Piaheto (Eagle's Feather).

The Ricaras cultivated also a species of tobacco which served their needs and which tempted their enemies the Sioux to the south, and the Mandans farther north. It is probable that the Ricaras were originally adventuring colonies of Pawnees. At the time Lewis and Clarke traversed the Missouri country in 1804, there were two main villages of Ricaras, totaling about fifteen hundred persons. The men were tall and well-proportioned, the women far above the Indian average in personal appearance and in vivacity.

Where the Missouri swings from the west, turning southward, the Mandans, Minnetarees and Ahnahaways had somewhat elaborate, if shifting, villages. It is a matter of history that this country supported numerous herds of buffalo, elk, goats, beaver and wolves, these

animals supplying the "raw products" upon which the Indians depended for meat, grease, bone and hides.

Mandan chiefs of the time were Shahaka (Big White), Kagohami (Little Raven), Ohheenaw (Big Man), Shotahawrora (Coal), Poscopseah (Black Cat), and Kagonomokshe (Raven Man). The Arwacahwas, related to the Mandans, had as chiefs Teckukopinreha (White Buffalo Robe Unfolded), Minissurraree (Neighing Horse), and Locongotiha (Old Woman at a Distance).

Among the Minnetarees, chiefs were Ompsehara (Black Moccassin), Ohhaw (Little Fox), Mahnotah (Big Thief), Mahserassa (Tail of the Calumet Bird), Eapanopa (Red Shield), Wankerassa (Two Tailed Calumet Bird. And lesser dignitaries were: Shahakohopinnee (Little Wolf's Medecine), Ahrattanamockshe (Wolf Man Chief) and Caltahcota (Cherry on the Bush).

It will be remembered that prior to 1763 Canada was French territory, and that following that year and until the Louisiana Purchase by the United States in 1803, the French carried on trade with the Indians of the West and Northwest by way of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The American explorers and traders, following 1803, found the Sioux, Mandans, Minnetarees, Ricaras, and other Northern tribes mixing to some extent with the tribes along the Red River, the Assiniboine, Saskatchewan, and other arteries in Canada, tributary to the Fort located at the place which later became Fort Garry, and still later Winnipeg.

Visiting with each other these tribes had periodical gatherings at which they exchanged or traded posses-

sions. In 1804 Lewis and Clarke found at the village of the Mandans about seventy lodges of Assiniboiné Indians and some Knistenaux, the latter of the Ojibway or Chippeway tribe from the country north of Lake Superior and extending west to the Saskatchewan. These were mainly the people whom the French voyageurs from Quebec mingled with for a century or longer, the squaws being the mothers of the bulk of the half-breeds who settled the Canadian North-West Territories; who, as the buffalo thinned out, perforce became agriculturists. These half-breeds made up a large portion of the population when in 1869 and in 1885 the last Indian and half-breed uprisings took place in Canada.

There is record that in 1760 there were nine flourishing villages of Mandans on the Missouri. The populations of these were wasted considerably throughout the years by smallpox and by raids of the Sioux. These circumstances, it appears, account for the drawing together of the Mandans, Minnetarees, Ricaras and Ahnahaways, the latter name signifying "People whose village is on a hill," their headquarters being situated at the mouth of the Knife River. By 1804 there were probably from four thousand to five thousand Indians in the neighborhood of what later became Fort Lincoln.

The Minnetarees, according to tradition held by the Mandans, originally were very numerous, coming from the lakes and rivers of the East. After they arrived in the neighborhood of the Mandans a quarrel over a killed buffalo resulted in two bands betaking themselves to the prairies farther west, where they became known as the Crows and Paunch. The Minnetarees also exer-

cised vast influence as a part of the great nation of Fall Indians roving between the Missouri and the Saskatchewan. Variouslly they were known as Gros Ventres (Big Bellies), related somewhat to the Piegans, Blood, Blackfeet, Flathead, and other minor tribes.

The Assiniboine Indians of Canada are recognized as descendants or seceders of the Sioux. Indeed, the Sioux somewhat loosely roamed over the entire territory embraced within the Mississippi, Missouri, Red and Saskatchewan Rivers. In the bend of the Mouse River, which crosses the Canadian boundary, the tribe was distinguished by the name Assiniboine Menatopa, later rendered Manitoba.

The migrations of units of the Sioux westward along the Missouri, Yellowstone and Milk Rivers, particularly, appear to have resulted in the growth of bands more savage than those left behind. Nearly two thousand Assiniboine Sioux roamed about the headwaters of the Milk River, and were known as the Big Devils.

Drought and extreme heat in summer, large areas with no water without alkali, deep snow in winter with temperatures far below zero, little opportunity or little desire to cultivate edible roots, and no end of other worries, served to develop a ferocious citizenry, those who five to seven decades later made up the Red legions which successfully stemmed for a spell the westward march of the Man with the Hoe.

The considerable stretch of country west of the Mandan villages and to the confluence of the Milk and Porcupine Rivers with the Missouri, (western Dakota and eastern Montana) offered little in the way of variety for the Indians. It was a sort of Hinterland

into which to go to escape the pressure of pursuing enemies, and where, when in the course of time white population increase brought a new menace to Indian social structure in the West, the Bad Lands remained as a last sanctuary.

Notwithstanding that French voyageurs and venture-some American trappers had penetrated to the rivers of the Far West early in the eighteenth century, the exploration of Lewis and Clarke brought forth the earliest dependable geographical information of this region available generally in the United States. Where the Marias River (named Maria's River by Lewis and Clarke), flowing from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains to the northwest, empties into the Missouri, Lewis and Clarke made a cache of trading goods and peltries to be reclaimed later.

Caches were common among the early trappers and traders. There were no warehouses. Transportation was a matter of river travel by pirogue, buffalo-hide canoe, or flatboat, and had to be protected by convoy. Caches were essential if small parties were to travel light enough to make speed unhampered by reserve supplies. In these caches peltries and merchandise have been known to keep sound and dry for years. The procedure was to cut a circle of sod about two feet in diameter; remove this carefully, digging a hole perpendicularly a foot deep. Gradually the hole was worked wider until it became six or seven feet deep, the excavation being cone-shaped. As the earth was removed it was carefully deposited on a buffalo or elk hide, the deposit being carried away and dumped in the river, so as to leave no trace. A floor was then laid at the

bottom of the excavation made of three or four inches of dry sticks, on which was laid a perfectly dry hide.

The goods to be stored were then laid on this floor, after being dried as much as possible, and were prevented from touching the earth sides by dry wood uprights. After the goods had been carefully deposited a dry hide was laid on top of the pile. On this, earth was thrown and beaten compactly, after which the sod removed was fitted in place and all traces of the operation removed.

At the headwaters of the tributaries of the Missouri, and the headwaters of that river itself, large and small game of all sorts was plentiful. The territory adjacent to the Gallatin, Madison and Jefferson Rivers (named by Lewis and Clarke) had for long been a fruitful country for the Shoshone or Snake Indians. In 1804 this expedition discovered that these people used bows and arrows almost exclusively in hunting game. Also, having been in trading contact with Pacific coast tribes, the Shoshones had horses. A renowned chief of that time was Cameahwait. The peltries taken by these Shoshones had for many years been traded with coast Indians and with agents of the North West Company from Canada. Neighbors of the Shoshones were the Pahkees, with whom they were occasionally at war. Their contact with Pacific coast Indians was through the intermediary of the Chopunnish (Nez Percé, or Pierced Nose) Indians neighbors of the Cayuse-Umatilla Indians and the Clatsop tribe of Chinook stock, who inhabited the country beyond the mountains, mainly along the Snake and the Columbia Rivers.

The Pahkees ranged the country north of the head waters of the Missouri and into the country adjacent to the large rivers of the Canadian West. The Shoshones shifted backward and forward between the fishing grounds of the Columbia and the plains east of the mountains, where red meat abounded, and where they mingled with the Flatheads.

Having horses and mules which they procured from coast tribes, who in turn had gained these in trade with the Spaniards then ruling in California, the Shoshones learned the art of rope and lariat making. In addition to thongs of rawhide they spun ropes of buffalo hair into strands about one-half inch thick.

Spoons were made of buffalo and bighorn sheep horn. Fires were kindled by means of a blunt arrow rotated quickly forward and back in a nest of well-seasoned willow or cottonwood.

Physically, the Shoshones were somewhat inferior to the river and plains Indians living farther east. They were of diminutive stature, the majority of them having thick ankles and flat feet.

The explanation of double names assumed by individual Indians is that the name ordinarily used is that given them when they are very young, in view of some circumstance, or a resemblance to some external object. When an Indian has another name it is that acquired later in life as a mark of achievement or superiority, particularly in war or in the chase. The Shoshone chief, Cameahwait, for instance, would seem to have been a disappointment to his parents in the matter of having done with creeping on all fours. His name signifies

"One who never walks." He also affected a war name which was Tooettecone (Black Gun).

In the foregoing are presented facts dealing with the names of Indian tribes and bands and the names of individual Indians existing in the country northwest of the Mississippi River during the period 1780 to 1804. A moving cross-section of Indian conditions, without too long a gap, may be had by taking up the saga as authentically recorded following the year 1832.

CHAPTER XI

FUR-PACKS FROM THE WEST

CHEYENNE. ARAPAHO. BANNACK. PEND D'OREILLE.
SHOSHOKE. ROOT DIGGER. WALLAH WALLAH. EU-
TAW. SKYNSE. ARAPOOISH. JIM BRIDGER. JOHN
BOZEMAN. ARIKARA.

CHAPTER XI

FUR-PACKS FROM THE WEST

FOR the purpose of preserving continuity in the saga of the Indians of the Northwest we may very well avail of the authentic records made during the Bonneville expedition beginning in 1832, which differed from that of Lewis and Clarke in 1804 only in that after leaving the villages of the Osages, Bonneville proceeded westward along the Platte instead of the Missouri.

Bonneville's party consisted of over one hundred men, most of whom had been in the Indian country. That is, they were experienced hunters and trappers.

The American Fur Company and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company had a somewhat elaborate rendezvous at what was then called Pierre's Hole, a deep valley in the heart of the mountains. It was in the corner of what later became the State of Idaho, not far from the present southwest corner of Yellowstone Park.

By 1832 the plains Indians had been able to avail of the increasing supply of horses introduced from Spanish sources from the Pacific coast tribes. Bonneville had not proceeded far along the Nebraska or Platte River when he came in contact with a band of sixty Crow Indians superbly mounted and caparisoned. The Crows were mainly inquisitive and were amazed at the sight of a wagon train, with oxen. The Crows met with on this occasion were on the trail of a party of Cheyennes who

in the night had attacked one of their villages. The particular hereditary enemies of the Crows were the Blackfeet. Both tribes were ferocious and savage, compared with their cousins east of the Mississippi. Following the Platte and circling the Black Hills on the north Bonneville proceeded up the Sweet Water, aiming for the headwaters of the Green River and Pierre's Hole beyond. Trappers of the American Fur Company and numerous independent trappers thrived along the tributary streams in this territory, most of them well equipped and mounted on horses, with pack-horses in addition.

Something of the Government's desires would appear to have been accomplished when Bonneville took with him some Delaware Indians from the East. The Delawares no doubt were surprised to find the reputedly ferocious Blackfeet still armed with bows and arrows. Some of them, it is true, had "fusee" firearms procured in trade at the American Fur Company's depot on the Marias River, where it empties into the Upper Missouri.

In the Wind River Mountain country (western Wyoming) the Gros Ventres of the prairies were numerous, their migrations taking them along the southern branches of the Yellowstone. Once every two or three years a band of about one thousand fighting men visited the Arapahos on the Arkansas River. Should the time for the Southern trek arrive while the band was about the headwaters of the Missouri they had a choice of routes, one through the country of the Shoshones and Bannacks, the other through Crow country east of the mountains.

The rendezvous at Pierre's Hole was at times oc-

cupied by hundreds of Indians and trappers, each maintaining separate encampments. Here came members of the Nez Percés and their neighbors the Pend d'Oreilles, or Hanging Ears. Many of the warriors of the Hanging Ears, Flatheads and Nez Percés possessed from thirty to fifty horses each. Thus they had wealth for trade and exchange. The Bannack Indians upon occasion made headquarters on the Payette and Boise Rivers. A celebrated chief of this tribe was The Horse, who died in 1833. He fell in leading his warriors while repelling an attack of the Blackfeet.

The renowned Crow Indians roamed throughout the territory between the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains, between the Platte and the Yellowstone. A celebrated chief was Arapooish. In 1833 they maintained one fighting unit of fifteen hundred warriors.

Where the Powder River empties into the Snake a branch of the Snake Indians, known as the Shoshokoes, or Root Diggers, subsisted largely on vegetables and fish. Unlike their cousins, the Shoshones, they were in early times indolent, but mild and inoffensive.

Beyond the Rocky Mountains the outlet for the products of the chase were the trading-posts of the fur companies. The establishment from Astoria had been removed by the Hudson Bay Company to Fort Vancouver, on the right bank of the Columbia, about sixty miles from the Pacific, in 1821. The company maintained also a post at Walla Walla (Rapid Stream), on the left bank of the Columbia, above the Walla Walla River. The Indian tribes living in the immediate neighborhood of these posts in 1834 were the Skynses,

Nez Percés and Walla Walla, the latter a somewhat degenerate, wornout tribe. These tribes had a link with the prairie tribes east of the mountains, through the Shoshones.

By the year 1833 the established fur companies and independent trappers had worked up a considerable traffic. Fort Cass, situated on the south bank of the Yellowstone about three miles from the mouth of the Bighorn, was a shipping point at the head of navigation for the larger boats. A typical "bull-boat" was made of three buffalo skins, stretched on a light frame, stitched together, the seams calked with tallow and ashes. The length was about eighteen feet and the width five feet six inches, sharp at bow and stern, round bottom, drawing about one and one-half feet of water.

Crows and Blackfeet, much alike in appearance, at times centered around this location. Buffalo, elk, bear, beaver and other game abounded in the neighborhood. Farther down, six miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone, was situated Fort Union, a post of the American Fur Company. Fort Buford, later established, was at the mouth of the Yellowstone, on the Missouri.

In an earlier chapter reference was made to the Ricaras, or Ricarees, located generally along the Missouri River where that stream, flowing from the west, turns south through Dakota. These people are not to be confused with the Arikara (Horn) confederacy of sub-tribes, allied in early days with the Pawnees.

In the territory which later became the borderland between Utah and Idaho, lived a band known as the Eutaws, in 1834 still using bows and arrows, although even then they had a few guns procured from trappers

and traders. The Eutaws were on bad terms with the Shoshones to the north, frequent disastrous conflicts taking place between their respective warriors.

The completion of the irrigation dam at American Falls, in northwestern Idaho, in 1934, removed old Fort Hall, established not far from the rendezvous at Pierre's Hole by Nathaniel Wyeth, contemporaneously with Bonneville's explorations in the same territory. It was at Fort Hall that the American flag was first unfurled to the winds of the mountain country. Prior to the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute with Great Britain, Fort Hall was the "farthest West" post of the American Government. Along the route on which Fort Hall was a stopping-place several thousand emigrants to Oregon passed, even prior to the settlement of the dispute in 1846. Famous frontiersmen who frequented the post in those early times were Jim Bridger and John Bozeman, as well as Sublette, Jackson, and others.

CHAPTER XII

RAILROADS REACH INDIAN COUNTRY

DÉNÉ. PIMAN. YUMAN. APACHE. LIPAN. NAVAJO.
TANO. KERESAN. HOPI. WHOA. COMANCHE. MO-
HAVE. MARICOPA. PAPAGO. PUEBLO. COCHISE.
NANA. MAGNAS COLORADOS. CHENO. GERONIMO.
OGALALA. RED CLOUD. HUNKPAPA. BRULÉ. SANS
ARC. MINNECONJOU. CROW WING. ROMAN NOSE.
WINNEBAGO.

CHAPTER XII

RAILROADS REACH INDIAN COUNTRY

IN THE southwestern region of what became the United States of America, in early times existed a civilization comparable to that in Mexico and Peru, into which in the year 1540 the Spaniards came. In 1580 the Spaniard, Chamuscado, accompanied by three Franciscan missionaries journeyed up the Rio Grande River to New Mexico. In succeeding months events occurred about which there is no unbiased record, but which resulted in the visitors being killed by the natives. In 1598, the Spaniard, Onate, arrived in the territory with one hundred and fifty white followers, and a number of natives of Mexico. A headquarters, or Capital, was set up at Chamita.

It is difficult to discover from what Spanish records are available the degree of success the invaders had in employing the Indians to their own uses, or what success the natives had in maintaining their right to live according to their own beliefs and customs. The fact that in 1680, a rebellion against repression occurred in which many priests and Spaniards were killed, would seem to bear out the conclusion that the same, or similar, methods were practiced by the Spaniards, as had been their way of dealing with the native race in Florida and Chicora.

In what was termed the Rio Grande Region, there

were sixty-six native villages, scattered over a distance of one hundred and thirty leagues. At an early date the Capital was established at Santa Fé.

The Indians of the Southwest, for the purposes of classification might well be segregated into the Sedentary, and the Shifting peoples. The nomadic tribes did not live in pueblos. They were those of Athapascan, Piman, Yuman and Shoshonean stocks. The Athapascan tribes speak a language related to the Déné in the Mackenzie and Yukon countries, far to the north, and are known as the Apaches, Lipans and Navajos; the Apaches divided into the Jicarillas, Llaneros and Olleros. Various, also, the Apaches were known as the Tonto Apaches, Kiowa Apaches, Uma Apaches and Warm Springs Apaches.

Those which might, properly or improperly, be designated as the sedentary peoples are those living in pueblos. The villages, as occupied in the early years of the present century were separated into two groups; the Rio Grande, and the Hopi pueblos, with Zuni standing by itself. The Rio Grande group was divided into Tanoan and Keresan peoples, chiefly due to the fact that the languages spoken were quite different. The Tanoan group comprised the Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Santa Clara, Ildefonso, Tesuque, Pojoaque, Nambe, Jemez, Sandia, and the Isleta. The Keresan language was employed in San Felipe, Cochita, Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, Sia, Laguna, and Acoma.

The Hopi villages are separated into the First, or Eastern Mesa, on which stand Walpi, Sichumovi, and Hano. The Second Mesa has Shipaulovi, Mishongnovi, and the Third, Oraibi, which is the most extensive.

The language of the Hopi proper is Shoshonean, related to the languages of the Utes and Comanches. Hano retained its Tewan dialect.

There were many bands of the Mescalero Apaches, one of which, the Mimbrenos, is nearly extinct. It was of this latter band that Victorio, the militant leader was a member. The Chiricahua Apaches, consisting of four bands, of which Magnas Colorados, Whoa, Cochise and Geronimo were chiefs were those which, for a quarter of a century following the year 1861, made Indian history in the Southwest.

Between the years 1700 and 1750, the Comanches in Texas and New Mexico were very numerous, but in the year 1900, less than sixteen hundred of them remained, on a reservation in Oklahoma.

In addition to the tribes mentioned, the following groups are domiciled in Arizona: Mohaves, Maricopas, Yavapai, and Papago.

New Mexico came into possession of the United States, by treaty negotiated with Mexico, in 1848, following a successful military campaign.

Two years before this a military expedition left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas to be on hand in California to garrison that region when the Mexican authorities withdrew. This expedition constituted the first American military command seen by the natives of the Southwest. The commander of the American force succeeded in having the Navajos, through whose territory the expedition passed, enter into an agreement not to molest future overland wagon-trains, not protected by military convoy.

Just prior to the beginning of the Civil War, when

the telegraph line was being built across the Western states, and when surveys were being made for a railroad route across the country, military parties were penetrating remote sections of the Southwest. Contact between the military and the Apaches was on both sides in an atmosphere of belligerency. Exploring expeditions accompanied by military commands had the purpose only of providing for the utilization of desirable land by prospective settlers. The natives, on the ground, beheld no evidence of anything save imminent conquest of themselves and their heritage. Imagination can supply the details of conflict. There were present all of the factors necessary to hostility. In 1861 a white child was abducted, or had strayed. The military accused the Apaches of abduction. Cochise, a Chiricahua Apache chief, came in under a flag of truce to learn about the charge and to disclaim responsibility of his people. According to military custom of the time Cochise and several of his escorts were seized and incarcerated under guard in a detention tent. Later, Cochise escaped by cutting through the tent, but in racing for safety was struck by three bullets, the wounds from which he carried to his end.

The treatment he had received at the hands of the military prompted Cochise to organize a following of his tribesmen and to launch an offensive campaign. The rage of the natives was spent in harassing some of the few white settlements in Arizona. About this time organizations of regular troops were recalled from the West for service in the Civil War.

After the close of the war in the South, warfare between the military and the Apaches under Cochise,

Victorio, and Magnas Colorados continued until 1872. In that year Cochise surrendered. He died in 1874. Victorio survived, however, and when resolute attempts were made in 1877 to press the natives toward reservations set aside for them, this chief, with fifteen hundred followers, went on the warpath and carried on a hide-and-seek war throughout Arizona, New Mexico and old Mexico during the following three years. In 1880 the Apache command was in desperate straits in Mexico. Their numbers had been reduced to one hundred warriors and four hundred women and children. In October of this year Mexican troops surrounded the Apaches and in a battle which lasted all night the natives' ammunition became exhausted. Even then they refused to surrender until Victorio, wounded several times, fell dead.

Beaten but not conquered, the Apaches again reorganized under the chief, Nana, and during much of the following six years uncompromising, relentless resistance was presented to white encroachment by this chief, and others, including the indomitable Go-yath-lay (the Yawner) known better as Geronimo. By the year 1886, however, practically all of the tribes in the Northwest had been deprived of their lands and had been herded onto reservations, which released for service in the Southwest military officers and troopers long experienced in subduing Indian resistance.

The termination of the warfare which followed the last uprising of the Apaches under Geronimo was due largely to the genius of General Nelson A. Miles, who from experience had learned how to deal understandingly with the Indians. Geronimo and some of the

outstanding members of his band were accorded consideration, even while under restraint. After quiet had been restored, these leaders were transported to St. Augustine, Florida, where for a time they rusticated in the Florida sunshine, far enough away from their people to prevent a recurrence of the resistance until such time as white infiltration into the land in their neighborhood should reach such magnitude that Indian resentment could avail little. Geronimo died in Oklahoma, February 17, 1909.

The scene now shifts to the Northwest, to the states lying north of Arizona.

Throughout the United States events had been moving swiftly. Events which, casting their shadows before, were to prove of grave import to the Indians of the West. In 1848 gold had been discovered in California and soon thereafter the grand rush began from the Atlantic seaboard of thousands of Americans helter-skelter bent for the gold fields, traveling by way of the Isthmus of Panama and around Cape Horn. Soon appeared the covered-wagon, which, in slowly wiggling trains, served as primitive transport overland for as stout, and as motley, a horde as ever followed the setting sun.

Railroads had come into being and were in service in several sections of the East. In 1853 Congress despatched four survey parties across the continent charged with the task of seeking out a route or a choice of routes for a steam railroad to be built across-country all the way to the Pacific coast. In 1857, the President's annual message contained the recommendation that a railroad be built to California. Then from 1861 until

1865 raged the devastating Civil War in the southern states, draining the resources of the North in men and treasure, and making it more important than ever that wire and rail connection be established with the productive fields, streams and gulches of the Pacific slope.

Indians of the West who were young in Bonneville's time as related in the foregoing were reaching their prime in 1866, when the Civil War had ended, leaving the Government with no end of soldiers available to employ in the West in the protection of agricultural and ranch settlers who in increasing numbers were squatting here and there on the choice lands in Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado and Montana.

The building of the overland telegraph line preceded the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad by nine years. In the spring of 1860 the telegraph line had been constructed as far west as Kearney, Nebraska, 200 miles west of Omaha. The line continued on through Julesburg, Colorado; Cheyenne, Wyoming; and on to Salt Lake. At Julesburg a branch turned south to Denver. Telegraph stations were located about fifty miles apart. Before the railroad was completed these telegraph stations became also pony express stations.

It was inevitable that the Indians should look askance at these new encroachments of the white man. It was bad enough when all were on equal footing, or equally well mounted. The talking wire and the forthcoming iron monsters of the rails were heralds of dismay.

In 1864 the Cheyennes, thinking to discourage the impending invasion, decided to strike a blow for freedom before it was too late. In desperation the warriors vented their anger upon the advancing feelers of what

was to come. Ranches, depots, villages throughout Nebraska, Wyoming and Colorado were visited by the warriors. On Beaver Creek, one hundred and twenty-five miles from Denver, one thousand braves foregathered, consisting of Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches and some visiting Apaches from the south, to plan an attack upon the settlement at Denver. At Plum Creek, Nebraska, an extensive overland wagon train was attacked, looted and destroyed, practically all members of the party being killed.

Retribution was swift. On December 9, 1864, Colonel Chivington with a considerable force attacked the natives at Sand Creek, where five hundred Indians were reported killed, including the Cheyenne chiefs White Antelope, Standing Water, War Bonnet, One Eye, Spotted Crow, Two Thighs, Bear Man, Yellow Shield, and Yellow Wolf. A month later twelve hundred Cheyennes attacked Julesburg in a fury of reprisal.

Before discussing the ebb-and-flow of the last decade of the Indian war in the prairie and mountain states it may aid in making the story complete if we revert back a few years and note what was happening to the Indians along the shores of the northern Mississippi. In the year 1851, the national Government made what they thought was a fair treaty with the Sioux, by the terms of which several million acres of land in Minnesota were thrown open for white settlement, but the carrying out of the pact was, on the part of the Government, left to politically appointed Indian agents, too often men who were inadequately endowed with the tact and diplomacy requisite if success was to be attained.

While the Government of the United States was perforce concentrating all of its military efforts from 1861 until 1865 toward crushing the armies of the southern states, impressed the Sioux people of the Mississippi valley as an opportune time to demand revision of treaties. Unfortunately negotiations had to be through the Indian agents and these functionaries were not particularly interested in Indian weal. As a result of neglect on the part of the Government, Indian impatience asserted itself in a manner not to be misunderstood. The Sioux, under Crow Wing and other chiefs, in December 1862 made a descent upon the outlying settlements and villages in Dakota, Minnesota and Iowa. This was Sioux territory as far back as Indian history or legend harked, and was familiar ground to the braves of Crow Wing's command.

Settlers were killed and buildings burned, which was the Indian way of staging a demonstration which should attract attention to their own plight. Because of the internecine warfare raging between brother and brother in the South, when each day's casualty list served to harden otherwise conciliatory natures, the military and the citizens in general were little disposed to deal gently with the natives who, it was said, had taken advantage of military preoccupation elsewhere to attack the whites. A swift, relentless attack was made upon the Sioux villages, in which no mercy was shown women nor children. When the grim, retributory campaign ended, numerous Indians were taken prisoners and subjected to harsh measures. Among those taken thirty-nine were accorded civil trials of such character as might have been expected at the time. The procedure was such that

there could have been but one outcome: the thirty-nine unfortunates were hanged at Mankato, Minnesota, their gaunt bodies swinging from the same gibbet at the same time. But this was not the last that was to be experienced of Sioux discontent.

Following this outbreak by the Sioux, the residents in Minnesota insisted that all Indians be removed beyond the limits of the State, to which end Congress by an Act in 1863 provided for the removal. In this legislation "all Indians" was interpreted to include the Winnebagoes, who were peaceably engaged in agriculture, and who had decided against adopting the drastic actions of the Sioux in seeking redress.

With the Winnebagoes the Government had made five treaties between 1816 and 1855. The treaty of 1855 had guaranteed to them a reservation in Minnesota, where they lived peaceably until driven out with the Sioux in 1863; first to Dakota and later to Nebraska, on a reservation adjoining that of the Omahas, there to await the pleasure of succeeding waves of settlers.

Resuming the narrative following Chivington's campaign against the natives in 1864, it was obvious that with the close of the Civil War in the South, the Government was then in position to consider plans contemplating the elimination of the natives from the terrain into which the white man's picks and shovels were to pry in the years ahead.

The Harney-Sanborne treaty with the Indians, in 1865, had been an attempt to set aside lands in the western states whereon the Indians might live in their own way, remote from the overland routes likely to be traveled by westering settlers. A year later the Govern-

ment desired to arrange an amendment to this treaty which would provide a right-of-way even through this area for westward settler travel. The chief of the Ogalala Sioux was Red Cloud, who was insistent that there should be no encroachment upon the treaty lands. Chiefs Spotted Tail and Standing Elk of the Brulé Sioux, feeling perhaps that

“What the fates impose, that must needs man abide:
It boots not to resist both wind and tide. . . .”

avored granting the Government's request.

On the pioneer Bozeman trail toward the Oregon country it was decided to erect forts between Fort Laramie, Nebraska, and the Big Horn Mountains. Farther west the trail through the Powder River area in Montana was to be protected by forts on the Big Horn and the Yellowstone Rivers.

On May 19, 1866, a military expedition under the leadership of General H. B. Carrington advanced from Fort Kearney, consisting of seven hundred men, four pieces of artillery, two hundred and twenty-six wagons, and a few ambulance wagons transporting the wives and children of some of the officers. In addition to a few of the then new Spencer carbines, the troops were armed with Springfield muzzle-loading muskets. Carrington established headquarters on Big Piney Creek, an affluent of the Powder River, about four miles from the Big Horn range. A stout fort was erected and two portable sawmills, steam-driven, were established. On the Powder River was situated an Indian village of fifteen hundred lodges, and there were between five thousand and six thousand warriors in the vicinity.

It was natural that these military preparations should stir the ire of the natives, as a result of which there were frequent raids on supply lines and on wood-gathering parties.

The names of military officers prominent in the campaigns of that year are Captain Fetterman, Captain Frederick Brown, Captain Ten Eyck, and Lieutenant Grummond. It was manifest that the Government entrusted the entire settlement of Indian grievances to the military, and the military had but one conception of the situation. In the estimation of the commanders the natives were hostiles, enemies, and as such were to be treated.

Late in December, 1866, a demonstration against the Indian lines, commanded by Fetterman, Brown and other officers, met with disaster as a result of Brown having extended his operations farther than his instructions called for. The Indians resenting the foray attacked the columns and killed fifty soldiers, practically destroying the entire command.

Red Cloud (Machpealota), then fifty-three years of age, became the leading war-chief of the Sioux Nation, and in the following summer assembled upward of three thousand warriors, probably one-half of them equipped with Winchester rifles, Spencer repeating carbines, and old army muskets, many of which were taken from Fetterman's men in the December affray. To procure the large supply of wood required at the fort the military perforce had to go into Indian territory as protection for the workmen employed by the civil contractor. The task of covering the wood-chopping operations was assigned to Captain and Brevet-Major James W.

Powell, commanding C Company, Twenty-seventh Infantry. In August (1867) Red Cloud decided to register opposition to measures which patently were designed to establish permanent occupancy of the lands in this neighborhood. He resented the military. He resented the forts. The tenure of his people was threatened unless the military should move on westward or return to where they had come from. In his villages resided the women and children of his people. Indian rule was unavoidably warrior rule, but the white men had a civil government as well as a military establishment, and it was Red Cloud's conclusion that negotiations should be carried on between the Indian leaders and representatives of the American civil government, not with the military leaders. In this view, however, little or no consideration was accorded him.

On August 2, Powell's command of thirty-two men was engaged in protecting a wood-cutting party some distance from the fort. Red Cloud attacked, at his heels three thousand warriors, including Hunkpapas, Brulés, Sans Arcs, Minniconjous, and some Cheyennes. Powell decided not to meet the Indians in open formation. He arranged an oval array of fourteen stout wagon-bodies, in the bottoms of which his force was disposed, with their rifles and ammunition. The Indians were mounted, but perhaps one-half of them were armed only with bows and arrows. Several desperate charges against the wagon-box fort resulted disastrously for the red warriors.

The pathetic desperation with which the natives fought for the lands and their people was evidenced by the casualties they sustained in this sanguinary battle.

When Red Cloud saw the havoc the trained marksmen of Powell's command created among his braves he terminated the attack. It was recorded that more than eleven hundred Indian warriors died or were seriously wounded in this demonstration against the military. Red Cloud stoically accepted defeat, and it is not difficult to imagine and picture the mourning, and in the mind to hear the wails of the women and children in the Indian villages when the news of this day's disaster filtered among the lodges.

Thereafter Red Cloud survived many an encounter with his enemies, both white and red, and lived to the ripe age of ninety years.

In the year 1866, also, at a council held at Fort Ellsworth, Roman Nose, head chief of the Cheyennes, harangued bitterly against the building of the Kansas Pacific Railroad toward Denver. In the building of this steam highway through Indian hunting grounds the great Cheyenne sensed dread menace to Indian welfare on the plains. Roman Nose was then no more than thirty years of age, stood six feet three inches in height, had strong features and fierce black eyes. His teeth were large, regular and white. Physically, he was a magnificent specimen of Indian manhood.

The Indians quite naturally held to the view that the country where for centuries their forebears had roamed freely and without restraint belonged solely and wholly to them. They regarded themselves as a race, a people, a nation. In making treaties with them the Government virtually recognized them as a nation. But, the conflicting interests which control, or are controlled by, governments, have a way of interpreting treaties favor-

ably to themselves. Governmental attitude toward the Indians of the West at that time was identical in most respects with the attitude of the Government toward the Indians of the East a hundred years earlier. The order was simply, "Move on," "Get out of the way." When the menace of armed conflict developed as a result of this policy, the most considerate alternative government appeared able to reason out was that the warriors and their families must herd up on reservations and become wards of the Government; that is, mendicants.

In protest against this situation the Cheyennes swept through western Kansas, wreaking havoc with life and property. General Sheridan took the field in person, accompanied by an aide-de-camp, "Sandy" Forsyth. Forsyth was commissioned to raise a scouting force of fifty seasoned campaigners, equipped with Spencer repeating rifles and Colt's revolvers—probably the first American mobile, rough-rider outfit. Forsyth's assistant was Lieut. Frederick H. Beecher, a nephew of Henry Ward Beecher. The force was recruited from veterans at Fort Harker and Fort Hayes. Leaving Fort Wallace the troop journeyed a week or more when, on September 15, 1868, they arrived at the Arikaree River. The bivouac there was on a low, gravelly island in the river about one hundred and twenty feet long. Shortly after the troop arrived the Indians attacked in force. These included Cheyennes, Sioux and Arapahos. Roman Nose was in command. In all, the Indians numbered nearly one thousand, including their women and children. The soldiers had intrenched themselves on the island in mid-stream in the best possible defensive position. In charge after charge Roman

Nose led his braves into well-directed volleys of lead from the intrenched troopers. It was only after the sixth general volley had been fired, and when the Cheyenne chief was about to set foot on the island that Roman Nose and his magnificent chestnut charger went down, shot in a dozen places. The attack was renewed at intervals until late afternoon, but, with their leader gone, the Indians continued the action in the nature of a siege, waiting for hunger to attain the victory.

The soldiers suffered twenty-three casualties out of a force of fifty-one. Among the dead was Lieut. Beecher, and in his memory the island and the engagement were named. When darkness set in, scouts Stillwell and Trudeau were despatched by Forsyth to Fort Wallace for aid. These men got through the Indian lines, although later messengers sent were not so fortunate. After four days and nights of travel Stillwell and Trudeau reached the fort. The relief party was in command of Brevet-Lieut. Colonel L. H. Carpenter, of the Tenth Cavalry, colored—known as the "Brunettes." Another relief column was in command of Colonel H. C. Bankhead.

A detachment of the relief column noticed in the distance, in a small ravine, a conical, white object. Investigation disclosed an elaborate and beautiful tepee made of freshly tanned white buffalo skins. Inside, on a scaffold, lay a human figure wrapped in buffalo robes. Raising these the body of a splendid specimen of Indian manhood was seen. He lay in his war-gear, with his weapons and other personal possessions close by. The silence and the solemnity of the moment were impressive. The richness of the habiliments suggested that

here reposed an Indian chief held in high regard by his followers. . . . It was the remains of Roman Nose!

From the viewpoints of the white soldiers of the time it was perhaps all right for them to carry off the great chief's equipment and military arms, but there is little imagination necessary to understand what the Cheyenne warriors thought of the desecration.

There are accounts of this engagement at Beecher's Island which state that in addition to one thousand Cheyennes, there were twelve hundred Arapahos, some Sioux and Comanches. The Arapaho chief was Big Mouth; the chief Medicine Man, Walchkerbet; and there were chiefs Tall Bull, Yellow Bear, and Little Raven. In addition to Roman Nose, the Cheyennes had present Bull Bear, a warrior leader. The Southern Cheyennes were captained by Minnimick and Little Robe.

CHAPTER XIII

NATIVES BATTLE FOR HOMELANDS

CUSTER. BLACK KETTLE. LITTLE ROBE. CUT-NOSE.
BATTLE OF THE WASHITA. LITTLE BEAVER.

CHAPTER XIII

NATIVES BATTLE FOR HOMELANDS

THE national Government, now thoroughly aroused as to the seriousness of the situation, began planning on a large scale. The Civil War had come to an end. The generals of the North had, toward the end, triumphed. Further work had to be found for soldiers. There were many of them who expected, and deserved, to be maintained in service and on military pay-rolls. At Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, there was a cavalry headquarters, or base. In the year 1866, steps were taken to man and outfit the Seventh, and Eighth, white, and the Ninth, and Tenth, colored cavalry units. Five hundred cavalymen were transported to Fort Riley, Kansas, to form the Seventh. Recruiting continued until the force totaled twelve hundred. In the summer of 1868, the Cheyennes and Arapahos were in arms in protest against the incursion of the railroads, then being built westward, and what the railroads portended in the way of arriving settlers. It was the Powhatan, Philip, Black Hawk and Pontiac difficulty again to the fore, in a new setting.

George Custer, who had been a general during the Civil War, was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Cavalry, and ordered to proceed on the trail of the Indian warriors. It was a new experience, in which lessons had to be learned in relation to rationing a considerable body of troops, marching for weeks through a

territory, with no opportunity to replenish provisions en route. The native forces continued in movement, eluding contact with the Government troops. A period arrived when the troopers were in a bad way due to the lack of meat—the Indians having by design driven the buffalo herds away from the line of march. It became necessary for the Seventh to return to Fort Hayes for recuperation.

General Sheridan having succeeded General Hancock in command of the Department of the Platte, at first tried the parley method of convincing the Indian leaders that they must remove themselves from the neighborhood of the new rail lines; must cease making reprisals upon incoming settlers and traders, or agree to be confined to restricted reservations to be selected by the military. Under the protection of a flag of truce the outstanding Indian chiefs Black Kettle, Little Robe and Cut-Nose, came to a conference.

The differences of viewpoint were too wide apart for any mutually satisfactory settlement of the dispute. The Indian leaders concluded, also, that there was no reason for haste in submitting to the demands of the military. They reasoned that the approaching winter weather would render military operations in the bleak and frigid prairie terrain impossible to the white troops. They were soon to discover that in this conclusion they were in error so far as the energetic Custer was concerned.

In the fall of the year 1868 the military established Camp Supply at the junction of the Beaver, or North Fork of the Canadian River, and Wolf Creek, near the Antelope Hills in Indian Territory. This was to be the

base of operations against the Indians seeking a homeland in that neighborhood.

In the process of Indian emasculation no formalities such as declaration of war were considered necessary. The obvious advantage of this was that no cause need be set down for record. No consideration was to be given to Indian viewpoint. Indians must not forcibly object to the influx of white settlers, regardless of formalities with respect to land rights.

Custer started from Camp Supply on November 23, 1868, with the Seventh Cavalry, headed south. The band played "The Girl I Left Behind Me." The land was in the grip of winter; there was eighteen inches of snow on the level. His white scouts were California Joe and Jack Corbin; also there were Chief Little Beaver of the Osages, and some of his warriors, serving as trailers. The theme of the brass band's gaiety was somewhat pointless, as there was no girl left behind at Camp Supply. There was none there. Little girls were ahead, however, in the Indian winter camp.

As it was nearing midnight of the 26th, the troopers were halted while a scout, in a whisper, announced that he had just heard a papoose crying—a papoose, a little Indian baby. Others then heard in the darkness and in the distance the tinkling of a bell, indicating the presence not far off of a herd of ponies turned loose to forage for themselves at wind-blown spots along the ravines. There were no other sounds. Indians, squaws and papooses were asleep in the tepees in fancied security. No molestation, no attack, was anticipated on this frigid winter night. It was thought unnecessary to station sentinels on the fringe of the Indian camp.

Whispered orders went the rounds of the troopers, instructing that the attack was to be made upon the village at daybreak. As the first rays of the sun broke over the eastern horizon the Indian village appeared to the view. It was still wrapped in silence, as one trooper remarked, "as if the camp were abandoned." The light-sleeping dogs of the camp, however, registered their alarm at impending danger by running about and barking among the tepees.

Sensing that something out of the ordinary was afoot an Indian emerged from his tepee. In the near distance he beheld the Seventh in formation. He fired his rifle once and raced back to rouse his family and the other sleeping natives.

Custer ordered the charge, the band playing "Garry Owen." It was bitterly cold. The brass instruments froze up and were rendered silent, as if the elements took a hand, deciding that it would not be fair for one side only in the impending conflict to have the benefit of martial music. The order was to charge full-tilt through the village. The warriors were to be given no time to detach themselves from their women and children.

In the camp were Cheyennes under Black Kettle; Arapahos under Little Raven and Kiowas under Santanta. The warriors immediately in front of Custer's own unit rushed to the bank of the stream, retreating to the ravines, taking what cover was offered by standing and down trees, and fighting from depressions, where they maintained their positions until all were killed. Seventeen braves were afterward found in one of these depressions.

Some unmounted Indians seeking to escape down the valley were pursued by a Sergeant-Major and nineteen troopers, the officer saying, as he swung into the saddle: "Here goes for a brevet or a coffin."

Black Kettle was killed in addition to one hundred and three other Indians. One account of this engagement, told by a participant, makes it appear that the cavalrymen served the Indians, their women and children, in the same manner they believed the Indians would have served them had the victory gone to the red-men. After the Indians had been killed or scattered, their tepees were depleted of property. The tepees of tanned buffalo hide were dismantled, the wreckage being burned in a great bonfire. On this pyre was heaped the supplies and provisions captured in the village. These when enumerated gave an estimate of the industry of the natives in providing for warmth and sustenance during the long winter months ahead. There were eleven hundred and twenty buffalo robes and other peltries, four thousand arrows, seven hundred pounds of tobacco, immense quantities of dried beef, numerous other winter provisions, five hundred pounds of powder, one thousand pounds of lead, rifles, pistols, saddle bows, lariats, and eight hundred and seventy-five ponies.

A member of the Seventh came upon a beautiful bridal gown, a one-piece dress adorned with beadwork and elks' teeth on antelope skins, "as soft as the finest broadcloth." The orders were to destroy! The gown, dear to the heart of some dusky maiden, was thrown on the devouring flames!

It was desired that the ponies be destroyed without wasting ammunition on them. Resolute attempts were

made to capture the herd with the idea of cutting their throats, but the animals became frantic upon the approach of white men and fought viciously against being taken. Eight hundred of them were shot down in windrows by Gatling guns.

The warriors who had succeeded in retreating to the nearby benches withheld their fire on the cavalymen owing to the circumstance that fifty-three squaws and children had been captured and were being held captives in the neighborhood of the troopers. The squaws were subsequently taken to Fort Hayes, where they were held as hostages for several months.

Little Robe, Black Kettle's successor as chief, gave a good account of himself in the fighting, and eluded pursuit. Following this disaster to the Indians, stragglers, including some squaws, were herded toward reservations, although some of the younger braves made their way to the Sioux, farther north, carrying in their hearts vows to some day even the score. During this engagement the temperature was below zero.

The Seventh Cavalry lost two officers and nineteen men killed, and three officers and eleven men wounded. Among the squaws captured was Mah-wis-sa, a sister of Black Kettle.

The cavalry command returned to Beaver Creek on November 29. Upon the arrival at Camp Supply, where the victory was celebrated, the Osage Indian scouts who had participated as trailers painted themselves with grotesque markings and designs and gave outlandish demonstrations of tribal war rites.

It may be added that when the account of the battle of the Washita reached the East, it was not hailed with

unadulterated acclaim. Many good citizens thought some other way might have been found without bringing death and hardship upon the Indian women and children in the dead of winter.

CHAPTER XIV

PACIFIC COAST TRIBES WAR FOR RIGHTS

ROGUE RIVER. OL-HATH-E. APPEYATE. MODOC. LALAC-A. KLAMATH. TENINO. SHASTA. KIENT-POOS. CHUM-MUNT. CHIC-CHIX-US. SKI-ET-TETE-KO. SCHONCHIN. BLACK JIM. BOSTON CHARLIE. NEZ PERCÉ. JOSEPH. TOO-HOOL-HOOL-SUIT. LOOKING GLASS. WHITE BIRD. THUNDER. EAGLE.

CHAPTER XIV

PACIFIC COAST TRIBES WAR FOR RIGHTS

BEFORE going into the final chapters of this saga of the American natives wherein will be presented an account of the end of the Sioux and their allies as independent people, we shall here deal with the fate of the Indians who for ages had held lands in the country out of which the states of Washington and Oregon were carved.

The administration of President Grant, coming soon after the close of the devastating Civil War, may have had justification for the repressive measures pursued toward the Indians of the West, but the historians have not dealt lightly with the ruthless procedure followed. The Indians were regarded as foreigners. They were herded onto reservations where they were policed. Practically the only contact the natives had with the national Government was through the intermediary of agents and contractors who, in too many instances, were in fact unscrupulous speculators. In the seventies there were nearly one hundred reservations on which one hundred and eighty thousand natives were herded. Thirty-one of these were east of the Mississippi River, nineteen on the Pacific slope; the others in the Mid-West and inter-mountain country. In 1873 it was estimated that what were then regarded as "hostile" tribes numbered sixty-four thousand persons, and up to that time the Government had squandered about one hun-

dred million dollars in futile repressive measures. Futile, because there was unsympathetic understanding of the nature of the problem, and because the policies determined upon were prosecuted ruthlessly, and without sensible realization that the lives of human beings were involved and at stake.

In Chapters IX and X, information was presented dealing with the Indians native to Pacific coast territory, beyond the Rocky Mountains. There were also the people known as the Rogue River Indians domiciled in Southern Oregon and Northern California. For years they pleaded, argued and fought for land rights. When the battles ended there remained of the Chief's family line, but one descendant, a nine-year-old boy named Olhath-e. On September 12, 1853, there was a battle between rangers and the Appeyate tribe of the Rogue River group in which a considerable number of the natives were killed. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs for that territory at the time was an army officer, and for the paltry sum of sixty thousand dollars the Indians were required to cede and vacate all of their land holdings south of the Rogue River.

An Indian war which supplied much lurid headline material in the late months of 1872 and early months of 1873, was that known as the Modoc War.

The Modocs were a pure Indian tribe, there being few if any half-breeds. They were of the ancient Lala-cas, and were neighbors of the Klamaths, Teninoes, Shastas, and Pitt River Indians.

As elsewhere in the country, in the far West at that time the custom grew among certain types of military men, of assigning to particular Indians, names not theirs,

and which in too many instances were couched in terms conveying disrespect. As an example of this loose consideration for the dignity of prominent natives, there were the Modocs Kient-poos, Chic-chix-us, Chum-munt and Ski-et-tete-ko. These men were dubbed, respectively, Captain Jack, Scar-face Charley, Steamboat Frank, and Shacknasty Jim.

The custom was not salutary and should have been discouraged by officers, and Government agents. The fact that these officers were serving on remote frontiers, and dealing with the natives, was no excuse for lack of courtesy. Certainly the nick-names of these men should not have been names assigned them in the official history of the Modoc War.

The Modocs had been placed on a reservation jointly with the Klamaths. In 1865, Kient-poos, of the Modocs, departed from the reservation because the Indian Superintendent refused to recognize his office as chief. The Modoc asked that he be given sanctuary in another place. This was refused. In 1869 he agreed to return to the Klamath reservation. Here he was subjected to ridicule because of having capitulated. Enmity developed between the Modocs and the Klamaths, the latter claiming that the Modocs were mere visitors without rights on the reservation. Again the Modoc chief appealed to the Indian Superintendent that he be given a reserve elsewhere, stating that he and his followers would be satisfied with a place out on the barren lava-beds, not far away. The chief's appeal was met with insolence and rebuff. Once more he departed from the reservation hoping to cool his rising anger. This was in

1872. A demand was made upon him to return at once to the Klamath location.

In November of that year Kient-poos, or Captain Jack, as he was called, was camped on Lost River with his immediate followers, numbering about fifty. Horses belonging to him had been appropriated by the military. He asked that these be returned to him, but met with refusal. His camp was besieged on November 30, but having taken up a stout defensive position, the two hundred Government troopers were unable, without too high a cost, to dislodge him.

In January, Kient-poos and his followers had shifted to the desolate lava-beds. General Wheaton was in command of the government force. Although there were but fifty-three Indian warriors, the two hundred troopers were driven back.

A Peace Commission was named, which in March, 1873, called for a conference with the Modoc leaders. Kient-poos was skeptical, not only about any benefit to be derived from a conference, but about the intentions of the military, once he and his aids arrived at the conference tent. Discussing this situation with the others it was decided to go armed to the conference, and in case there was not immediate agreement by the Government's representatives to the request for a separate reservation, certain of the representatives were to be killed.

Early sensing that there was no hope of results favorable to the Modocs, firing was commenced, which resulted in the deaths of commissioners, General Canby, and Doctor Thomas, and the wounding of Commissioner Meacham.

Leaving the scene of the fateful conference, the

Modocs went to Sand Hill, where on April 24, they were attacked, and for three days the battle continued.

Murder of the Commissioners, of course, could not be permitted to go unpunished. A superior force overwhelmed the beleaguered Modocs, and within a short time a trial was held, the outcome of which was that Captain Jack, Boston Charlie, Black Jim and Schonchin were hanged at Klamath on October 3, 1873.

As a commentary on the situation as it existed at that time, may we quote from the Report of the Indian Commissioner for the year 1874, in which, on page 12, appears the paragraph:

“Experience shows that no effort is more unsuccessful with an Indian than that which proposes to remove him from the place of his birth, and the graves of his fathers. Though a barren plain without water or wood, he will not voluntarily exchange it for any prairie or woodland, however inviting.”

Evidently no one in the seats of authority listened to men who had first-hand knowledge of the actual situation. For centuries the Indians had been relentlessly driven from the places of their birth, or were killed there!

In the year 1877, the Nez Percé tribe, with villages in the Wallowa Valley, who during the previous twenty years had been gradually dispossessed of land ceded to them by treaty, determined to reoccupy the ground. General O. O. Howard, in command of the Department of the Columbia, called a conference of the native leaders at which the grievances of the natives were to be discussed. Chiefs Joseph and Too-hool-hool-suit represented the tribesmen.

Through a strange working of events this, nearly the last of the Indian revolts on United States territory, was reported from both sides. In the *North American Review* for April, 1879, appeared an article by Chief Joseph of the Wal-lam-wat-kin band of Nez Percés, which presents the Indian records of conferences. The same journal for July, 1879, contains a reply thereto from the pen of General Howard. Allowing for discrepancies of viewpoint, and of recollection of just what was said, there is sufficient material in these articles of an authentic nature to supply informing enlightenment. General Howard stated that he "listened to the oft-repeated dreamer nonsense of the chief, Too-hool-hool-suit, with no impatience, and said to him: 'Twenty times over I hear that the earth is your mother, and about the chieftainship of the earth. I want to hear no more.'"

Chief Joseph reported this portion of the same conference, thus: "General Howard lost his temper and said, 'shut up! I don't want to hear any more such talk.'" Joseph goes on to say: "Too-hool-hool-suit answered: 'Who are you that you ask us to a talk, and then tell me I shan't talk? Are you the Great Spirit? Did you make the world?'" General Howard's admission of what he said was bad enough, even if typical of soldier diplomacy. Joseph's account differs little in substance. There is corroboration in Howard's quotation from his record, where he says: "The rough old fellow, in his most provoking tone, says something in a short sentence, looking fiercely at me. The interpreter quickly says: 'He demands what person pretends to divide this land, and put him on it.' In the most decided

voice I said: 'I am the man. I stand here for the President, and there is no spirit, bad or good, that will hinder me. My orders are plain and will be executed.' "

General Howard was not accustomed to being talked to in this manner. Too-hool-hool-suit, the Nez Percé chief, must stop it! But the Indian chief knew nothing of the puissance of rank: nothing about "Aye, aye, sir," nor "Understood." So that the chief might have time to orient his sense of values, Howard had him arrested and incarcerated in the guard-house for a period of five days.

The initial outcome of the "conference" was that Joseph consented to vacate the lands his people lived on, notwithstanding that the young men of the tribe were resentful and wished to resist. Finally, the Indians rounded up their stock and portable possessions and began to move out. At this time a storm came up which quickly caused the water in the river to rise, so that getting the cattle across the stream was extremely difficult. Some cattle had to be left behind temporarily, in charge of Indian guards. White men attacked the few guards and took the cattle away from them. In the tense situation that obtained at the moment this act was all that was necessary to loose the restraint of the warriors. The war was on!

Management of the rearguard battle which followed devolved mainly upon the chiefs Looking Glass and White Bird, also Thunder, and Eagle. Sanguinary engagements occurred along Cottonwood Canyon, the Clearwater River and east of Fort Lapwai (Place of Division). General Howard was in command of the military forces. For ten weeks Joseph's band fought a

running battle in which high qualities of generalship were continuously in evidence. In the beginning there were but three hundred warriors, and these were encumbered by the members of their families, and their stock. Surrounded again and again by the forces of Howard, Joseph eluded capture, continued his masterly retreat in which frequently his command doubled back to throw his pursuers off the trail.

Howard had forty companies of troops in addition to numerous local volunteers and scouts. After desperate fighting in the neighborhoods of Salmon, and Camas Prairie, Idaho, Joseph escaped over the Lolo trail, evading traps set for him and for his forces, and pursued his way toward the Canadian border. Ultimately he was captured by a command under General Nelson A. Miles, near the north end of the Bear Paw Mountains. The distance marched by Howard's army during this running fight was nearly fifteen hundred miles. The army lost in the various actions one hundred and five officers and men killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. Thirteen of the volunteers were killed, and fifty settlers.

On the Indian side several chiefs, including Looking Glass, were killed. When Joseph surrendered he made it plain that his reason was that his people were tired, the women and children worn and hungry.

The thought of finding haven in Canada no doubt was prompted by the success of the Indians and half-breeds in Manitoba, in 1870, under the leadership of Louis Riel, in obtaining redress and land patents for the Indians of the Canadian province, then organized.

Chief Joseph inherited much of his ability as a leader

from his father, who died in 1871, and who toward his end was known as "Old Joseph," his Indian name being In-mut-tos-ya-lat-lat. The early French traders had named this tribe the Chutepalu, or Nez Percé.

In his famous retreat Joseph contended with four fair-sized armies, each one bent upon the destruction of his force. When fatigue and hunger drove Joseph to surrender to Miles he and his captured warriors were first taken to a fort on the Yellowstone River; thence to Fort Leavenworth, and later to a reservation in the Indian Territory. He had the fate of Geronimo rather than that of the unfortunate Captain Jack. Personal appeals made at Washington by Joseph resulted in those who remained of his flock being transferred to the Colville Reservation in Washington State, where Joseph died on September 21, 1904, twenty-seven years after his resistance collapsed. He died mumbling: "Halo Manitah," which means: "I shall not live to see another winter."

CHAPTER XV

A DIARY OF THE DOOMED

THE RAILROADS. GOLD. SITTING BULL. RAIN-IN-THE-FACE. CRAZY HORSE. IRON HORSE. LAME DEER. GAUL. UTE. BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIG HORN. AMERICAN HORSE. BATTLE OF SLIM BUTTES. DULL KNIFE. BIG CROW. IRON STAR. SITTING BULL IN CANADA. SWIFT HAWK. LITTLE ELK. RUNNING ANTELOPE. CHASING CROW. MANY HORSES. PRETTY WEASEL. THUNDER HAWK. WHITE-BORDERED-TAIL. SHOOTS WALKING. GIVES GOOSE. LITTLE TUSK. RED FEATHER. NO NECK. LOUD-VOICED HAWK. GRINDSTONE. RUNNING AGAINST. CRAWLER. TWO BEARS. RED FOX. BROWN THUNDER. KANSU. BIRD-CLAW-NECKLACE. BIRD-IN-THE-GROUND. MAKES-THE-ENEMY. RUNNING CLOSE. FEATHER MANE. WHITE-BLACK-BIRD. WHITE BUFFALO. CLOUD SHIELD. MAGPIE EAGLE. BEAR TOOTH. WATER CARRIER. LOOKING ELK. LONG HORNS. CARRIES-THE-PRAIRIE-CHICKEN. SWIFT BULL. WIDE SKIRT. SUN DREAMER. BLOODY KNIFE. HALF-YELLOW-FACE. WHITE BULL. YOUNG-BLACK-MOON. DOG-WITH-HORNS. DEEDS. SWIFT BEAR. RED FACE. BAD-LIGHT-HAIR. HAWK MAN. CLOUD MAN. ELK BEAR. LONE DOG. THREE BEARS. KILL HIM. CHASED-BY OWLS. DOG'S-BACK-BONE. BLACK FOX. LEFT-HAND-ICE. BEAR-WITH-HORN. SWIFT CLOUD. STANDING ELK. WHITE EAGLE. LONG

ROBE. MUSTACHE. YOUNG BEAR. FLYING BY. OWNS-
RED-HORSE. ONE BULL. FOUR HORNS. TWO-MOON.
FAT BEAR. BROWN BACK. WHITE-HAIR-ON-FACE.
CIRCLING HAWK. BOBTAIL BULL. GOOD-BEAR-BOY.
BOBTAIL HORSE. IRON LIGHTNING. OWNS HORNS.
BAD JUICE. SHELL EARRING. SNAKE CREEK. KNIFE
KING. SPOTTED EAGLE. PRETTY BEAR. BEAR'S CAP.
THE-EAGLE-SITTING-DOWN. FLYING BIRD. WHIRL-
WIND BEAR. IRON DOG.

CHAPTER XV

A DIARY OF THE DOOMED

IT HAS been said that nowhere else did a native people cling with such tenacity to a homeland as did the Sioux to the lands lying along the slopes of the watershed of the Big Horn range. Here was a land of plenty; a land of variety, of magnificent views—the Indian story-land. From the Indian viewpoint it would be a crushing blow should the tribes be deprived of their form of freedom in this last corner of the plains. Tall vows were made in the tepees and along the creeks. . . . White men beware! . . . beware!

Following the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, the Sioux tended to concentrate somewhat along the bounteous tributaries of the Yellowstone, Powder, Tongue, Rosebud and Big Horn Rivers, and in the foothills of the Big Horn Mountains. It was calculated at that time that the Sioux in that general territory numbered about ten thousand warriors. Since the time of Lewis and Clarke (1804) and of Bonneville (1833) the Sioux had increased in numbers. Some of the gain had been due to absorbing lesser tribes in whole or in part; particularly to accretions of young warriors from tribes farther south and east who could not find it in their natures to live as mendicants on restricted reservations; inactive, spied upon, repressed.

Readers who from this narrative gain their first comprehensive knowledge of the fate of the American natives from the time of Acuera to the time of Sitting Bull, a space of three hundred and forty years, are not far astray if they conclude that it reads like a diary of the doomed. In what follows with regard to the final scenes as enacted in the territory referred to at the beginning of this chapter, the facts have been gleaned from official Government records and from the writings of participants.

In the year 1873 a national commission was appointed, its members to proceed to Dakota, Wyoming and Montana for the purpose of selecting suitable lands which might be deeded in perpetuity as a homeland for the remaining natives. Subsequently the terrain agreed upon was given liberal boundaries, and by Act of Congress and the signature of the President, enacted legislation settled the matter. That is, it remained settled until gold was discovered in the Black Hills in western Dakota, which area was within the geographical limits of the Indian country set aside.

Gold, the curse of Mexico and of Peru, centuries before, was to cast its long shadow across the land of the buffalo, the elk, and the North American Indian. In 1874 the Indians became exasperated upon learning of a Bill introduced in Congress providing for the extinguishment of Indian title to so much of the Black Hills reservation as lay within the territory of Dakota. General Custer, with a military command and accompanied by geologists, had in that year journeyed into the Black Hills to seek out the possible source of gold, samples of which had been seen in the hands of Indians known to

be familiar with the creeks, ravines and trails of the region.

No sooner had the announcement of the discovery of gold gone out than from all sections of the East and South a horde of prospectors, adventurers, miners, gamblers and settlers began to arrive in the vicinity of the new El Dorado. There was no delay while the Government took the matter up with the legal occupants of the country, those to whom it had been deeded by Act of Congress. Spurred on by the greed for gold the growing army of trespassers scoffed, and looked to their ammunition belts, when suggestion was made that there should be orderly procedure, and due adjustments made with the Indians.

Had these adventurers been familiar with the history thus far of the West; had they known, or had they been told, that within three days' march of the Hills ten thousand restless, exasperated Indian warriors were encamped in wigwam villages, convinced that a time was at hand when they should have to fight for their homes and families, or be obliterated, it is possible that steps might have been taken to avert disaster. It is possible, but not probable! When gold is the lure no man reckons peril above his ability to overcome it!

Custer's headquarters in 1874 was at Fort Lincoln (Bismarck, North Dakota). Twenty miles away was situated Standing Rock agency, where the Government's Indian agent was stationed. From this point and from sections west and south came rumors and reports of Indian attacks on migrating prospectors, and on small settlements of whites.

A scout brought in word that the redoubtable Sioux

chief, Rain-in-the-face was at Standing Rock Agency, and that he had admitted it was he who had killed a Doctor Honzinger and a Mr. Baliran, recently reported done to death on the trail. Rain-in-the-face was a lieutenant of the head chief, Sitting Bull, and a brother to Iron Horse, one of the principal chiefs of the Hunkpapas. With Indian frankness he stated that of course he had killed these men, and with what he regarded as sufficient cause. He was promptly arrested and placed under guard, but escaped and joined Sitting Bull's forces south of the Yellowstone, where also had gone Crazy Horse, an Ogalala chief whose command of warriors were equipped with the best obtainable in the way of firearms.

Sitting Bull, whose Indian name was Tatanka Iyotake, and whose father was named Jumping Bull, was born in a village on the Grand River, near where that stream empties into the Missouri, in Dakota. As an infant he had been named "Slow" because of his exercise of the virtue of deliberation in all matters which came to his attention. In the year 1860, when he was twenty-nine years of age, he became a chief. His education and training were gained from numerous forays among his neighbors, the Crows, and in actions in which it was his responsibility to prevent the Crows from capturing and driving away horses belonging to the Sioux. Actions of this sort were frequent along the Cannonball River, a short distance north of Sitting Bull's native village. Boon companions and associates of Sitting Bull in those days were Swift Hawk, Little Elk, Chiefs Running Antelope, and Chasing Crow. Chiefs of the Hunkpapa Sioux were Many Horses, Pretty Weasel, Thunder

Hawk, White Bordered Tail, Shoots Walking, Gives Goose, Little Tusk, Red Feather, No Neck, Loud Voiced Hawk, Grindstone, Running Against, Crawler, Two Bears, Red Fox, Brown Thunder, Lamé Deer, and a chief who became the bane of Custer, Chief Gaul—frequently spelled Gall.

Crow Indian chiefs of the time were Bird-claw-necklace, and Bird-in-the-ground. Hunkpapa chiefs who somewhat later attained to command were Makes-the-enemy, Running Close, Feather Mane, White-black-bird, White Buffalo, Cloud Shield, Magpie Eagle, Bear Tooth, Water Carrier, Looking Elk, Long Horns, Carries-the-prairie-chicken, Swift Bull, Wide Skirt, and Sun Dreamer.

Because of the various names employed to designate tribes, bands and villages of Indians it has been difficult in history to follow the fortunes, or fate, of individual Indians engaged in particular campaigns and battles. In an earlier chapter the tribal makeup of the Sioux was recorded. There is no error in saying that the Teton Sioux and the Prairie Sioux were of the Dakota Nation, and that the Hunkpapa Sioux were of the Tetons. Further, where the Ogalala people are referred to it is to be remembered that they also were Sioux.

It was while Sitting Bull was gaining his spurs that the Sioux realized their need for larger herds of good horses. The breed of horses best suited to the work in hand came from Mexico by way of Texas. Many of these were obtained by the Comanches, by purchase, trade, or stealth, depending upon the exigency of the moment. Some of these mounts were passed northward

by the Utes and Shoshones, from which less warlike tribes the Crows helped themselves.

In turn, the Sioux relieved the Crows of many of their best mounts, and in this commerce Sitting Bull and his associates played conspicuous parts. Indeed, this far-seeing chief not only added to Sioux stock by acquiring horses from the tribes to the south, but by breeding was successful in greatly enlarging the number of mounts available for the on-coming young warriors who were to do and die in the years ahead. Also, he carried on traffic with independent traders which brought to his followers guns and rifles as modern in make as those carried by Government troops, and so continued the betterment in the organization of the Sioux into a military force capable of meeting white troops in campaigns and in battles. In the year 1876, Sitting Bull was forty-five years of age.

The influx of prospectors and adventurers into the Black Hills region following the discovery of gold there, and the coming of the railroads into the country where the Sioux, and the disaffected members of neighboring tribes, had been concentrating with the understanding that there was to be established an Indian domain, gave birth to the circumstances which precipitated the last war with the Sioux.

Late in the year 1875 the Government determined that the Sioux, the Cheyennes, and their allies, should be rounded up and that they must thereafter live on the reservations which the Government set aside for them without regard to negotiated treaties. By courier and scout the natives were informed by representatives of the Interior Department that by January first, 1876, all

of the tribesmen and their families must report at the reservations; but to this demand the Indian leaders paid little heed.

The Sioux country was encircled by forts and agencies. The Missouri River inclosed it on the north and west. To the south were the military posts established along the Union Pacific Railroad. In the valleys of the Big Horn range, near the tributary sources of the Powder River, was situated the geographical center of this area, and it was here that Sitting Bull and his people took position.

The plans of the military included operations against the Sioux by three separate expeditions, any one of which was presumed to be of sufficient strength to insure victory over all of the forces the Sioux could muster. One of these, under General Gibbon, was to march eastward from western Montana; one under General Crook was to march northward from Nebraska; and the third under Custer was to proceed westward from Fort Lincoln. Inclement weather during the winter months prevented these columns from making headway. Gibbon's command started from Fort Ellis, near Bozeman, early in 1876 and went down the Yellowstone River about two hundred miles. This force consisted of six companies of the Seventh Infantry and four troops of the Second Cavalry, altogether about three hundred men, in addition to which there were about two hundred Crow Indians serving as allies and scouts. Here, Gibbon had to maintain his position for several months while waiting for consolidation with the other columns.

By June, Crook's command had reached the Rosebud River, and here on the seventeenth of that month the

Indian command disclosed its plan for the forthcoming campaign: to attack and destroy the three Government columns separately. Crook was attacked and his command barely escaped annihilation. After an all-day engagement the Indians withdrew, but Crook's command was so cut up that retreat was ordered to a place of safety, and for immediate purposes of offense the column was rendered useless.

In view of the outcome of subsequent engagements it is of main interest to consider the organization of and the movements of Custer's command. This expedition left Fort Lincoln on May seventeenth and consisted of the Seventh U. S. Cavalry, commanded by Custer—twenty-eight officers and seven hundred men; two companies of the Seventeenth U. S. Infantry, and one company of the Sixth U. S. Infantry—eight officers and one hundred and thirty-five men; one platoon of Gatling guns—two officers and thirty-two men; and forty "Ree" Indian scouts. General Terry was in command of the entire expedition.

The wagon train consisted of one hundred and fifty wheeled vehicles, with thirty days' supplies and forage, and all pioneer and military equipment necessary for an arduous campaign. About the middle of June Custer's command went into camp at the mouth of the Tongue River, which had been the site of a large Indian camp the previous winter. Here the troopers found on elevated platforms, or tied to the limbs of trees, a number of Indian dead bodies, which the men disturbed, and robbed of their trinkets.

An American Brigadier-General writing of this incident, said: "Several men walked about exhibiting these

trinkets with as much gusto as if they were trophies of their valor, and showed no more concern for their desecration than if they had won them at a raffle. Ten days later I saw the bodies of these same persons dead, mutilated and naked”!

It is true perhaps that not many of the white troops were so thoughtless, but inasmuch as throughout the history of the Indians from the beginning there were innumerable instances when hundreds of natives were put to death because of a reprehensible act on the part of an individual, one cannot sensibly evade the conclusion that in Indian circles such behavior by white men, discussed among the lodges, constituted a basis upon which Indian opinion of white men was founded.

And here, in passing, it may be apropos to express the view that after the defeat of Crook's formidable column should have occurred to the Government as the time to call for an armistice. Notwithstanding the view held by many persons that the American Indian was impossible; that he could not in any manner be taught to share constructively and happily in the civilization of white men, is it not true that prior history was emphatic that military prowess was a precursor of other, even if latent, attributes, which under coincident stimulus gave to the world the arts, sciences and industry?

No, the fact that Indian strategy and courage prevailed over Crook served only to spur on the other columns to effect the annihilation of the natives, the non-success of which, so far as this campaign was concerned, is related in what follows.

At the time of Custer's battle on the Little Big Horn, or shortly thereafter, it was estimated that including

Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahos, there were between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand men, women and children in the concentrated Indian villages intended to be attacked. The warriors numbered between twenty-five hundred and three thousand. The principal chiefs on the ground at the time were: Hunkpapas: Gall, Crow King and Black Moon; Ogalalas: Low Dog, Crazy Horse and Big Road; Sans Arc Sioux: Spotted Eagle; Minneconjous: Hump; and Cheyennes, White Bull, and Little Horse.

Major Reno, of the Seventh Cavalry, with six troops was sent on a scouting expedition southward from Custer's encampment, and had discovered a wide Indian trail leading westward toward the Big Horn foothills. While on this expedition with a strong force, Reno, on June seventeenth, was within forty miles of where Crook's command was being given a severe setback by the Indians, but owing to lack of coordination of information knew nothing about his brother officer's predicament.

On June twenty-second, Custer was ordered to move forward with his regiment, with fifteen days' rations and proceed up the Rosebud River until he picked up the Indian trail seen by Reno. Custer had with him his two brothers, a brother-in-law and two hundred and fifty-seven others, officers and troopers.

What steps Custer took to ascertain the probable number of Indian warriors opposed to him, in case his command alone should by chance have to fight the battle, satisfied him that there were not more than fifteen hundred. Terry had tendered him the additional force of the battalion of the Second Cavalry, and the Gatling

guns, but these additions Custer declined to accept, stating that the Seventh Cavalry could "whip" any force the Indians could combine against him.

On the march, Bloody Knife, chief of the Ree scouts; Half-yellow-face, chief of the Crow scouts, and Mitch Bouyer, a half-breed interpreter, expressed apprehension as to the outcome of a battle should Custer's command alone engage the Indians.

On June twenty-fifth the Seventh neared the vicinity of the Indian encampment. General Custer issued orders disposing his forces for the attack. Major Reno, with three troops (one hundred and forty-six combatants in all) marched down the valley of a tributary of the Little Big Horn, or Greasy Grass River. Custer, with five troops, followed Reno closely, bearing to the right and rear. The pack train, convoyed by one troop, followed Custer. Captain Benteen's column, consisting of three troops, was ordered to the left and front, to a line of high bluffs about three miles distant.

In all previous experience, when the immediate presence of white troops became known to them, the Indians swarmed to the attack, with the utmost courage and bravery, resorting to various ruses to mislead the soldiers for the purpose of delaying the advance toward the villages until the squaws and children had time to pack up personal effects, load up provisions, drive away the pony herd, placing the non-combatants beyond danger.

Notwithstanding this knowledge, Custer was possessed of the idea that the Indians would not "stand" for an attack during daylight; that, more likely everyone in the camp would endeavor to escape up the valley

of the Little Big Horn, taking their possessions along with them. Presumably it was with this thought in mind he despatched Benteen's column to the trail along the high bluffs, concluding that Benteen would be in position to head off an attempted escape.

Custer's strategy, or lack of it, was the reverse of that favored by the Indian command with respect to meeting the separate columns of Terry, Crook, and Gibbon. It was the Indian plan to attack in force one of these units at a time. Custer, arriving before the Indian camp with his entire command at his heels, divided his force into columns under Reno, Benteen, and himself, sending each along a different approach to the site of the impending battle.

Also, the columns of Crook and Gibbon were not in the immediate vicinity when the battle occurred for which so many months of preparation had been made. Crook, of course, had been given a set-back by the Indians eight days previously. In the attack of June twenty-fifth, Reno made the mistake of dismounting his men as he approached the Indian lines. This gave the warriors the awaited opportunity to deal with his command separately, and they proceeded to do so with a result all in their favor. Benteen lost fifty-one men, killed, wounded and missing. He had met with misfortune on his march and, so far as the fighting of June twenty-fifth was concerned he was of little assistance to Custer excepting to the extent that his command, being held at bay, required detachment of Indian units which otherwise might have been with the attack upon Custer. In mid-afternoon Reno's and Benteen's columns joined,

but no one among them appears to have been aware of what was happening to Custer and his men.

There are several accounts of how Custer and his troopers came to their ends. There is agreement that he attempted to ford Reno's Creek (as it was afterward called) in order to attack the Indian rear, but was driven back and took a position in the adjacent hills. At about the time Reno's and Benteen's commands joined, and while these officers were debating as to what they should do, Custer and his entire command were being decimated by charge after charge led by Gall, Crow Wing, Crazy Horse and Rain-in-the-face.

There is little purpose in pursuing this engagement further. No matter which of the many accounts one studies purporting to set forth the history of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, there is but one fair conclusion possible. The Indian leaders outgeneraled the commanders of the white troops, and had they been the atrocious savages and barbarians many persons had been taught to believe them, they would in all probability have followed up their victory by launching an immediate campaign of destruction and devastation upon what remained of military opposition, and upon non-combatants throughout the West, even if subsequently they should have to submit to superior forces placed in the field by the Government.

The brave fellows of the Seventh Cavalry who went down to death with Custer have their names perpetuated in the annals of the army, and on monuments. Little of public record has been made of the names of the Sioux and Cheyennes who at the same time gave up their lives in a glorious attempt to save for their chil-

dren the land of their fathers. The following is a list of some of the chiefs and warriors who fought and died at the Battle of the Little Big Horn: White Bull, Young-black-moon, Dog-with-horns, Deeds, Swift Bear, Red Face, Bad-light-hair, Hawk Man, Cloud Man, Elk Bear, Lone Dog, Three Bears, Kill Him, Guts, Chased-by-owls, Dog's Backbone, Black Fox, Left-hand-ice, Bear-with-horn, Swift Cloud, Standing Elk, White Eagle, Long Robe, Mustache, Young Bear, Flying By, Owns-red-horse, Plenty Lice.

Others who participated in the battle were One Bull, the twenty-three-year-old nephew of Sitting Bull, and Four Horns, the great chief's uncle. Also, Two Moon, Fat Bear, Brown Back, White-hair-on-face, Circling Hawk, Bobtail Bull, Kansu, Good-bear-boy, Looking Elk, Shoots Walking, Bobtail Horse, Iron Lightning, Owns Horns, Bad Juice, Sounds-the-ground-as-he-walks, Shell Earring, Snake Creek, Knife King. For fifty years following the Battle of the Little Big Horn the names of all these warriors were household words in the tepees and wigwams on the plains, and in the shacks on the reservations.

In view of the outcome of this famous battle, than which in all history no other military engagement has been subjected to so much discussion, one cannot help reading into General Custer's disdain for the ability and courage of the Indian warriors, something of the widely held and general misunderstanding of the American natives. Does any one imagine that a highly organized military force such as was Custer's was utterly defeated by a rabble of lazy natives ambling in disorderly array along a creek? Does any one imagine Custer's stout

troopers were scared to death by the haphazard waving of a few tomahawks in the hands of decadent wild men?

In all of the authentic accounts of this famous battle there is agreement that the Arikara and Crow allies and scouts took little active part in the series of engagements which resulted in the discomfiture of Reno and Benteen and the annihilation of Custer. These Indians, recognized as renegades by the Sioux, consulting among themselves concluded that caution was the better part of valor; that so soon as it became known that not only were the troopers going to have a difficult time, but might not overcome the opposing Indian legion, the vengeance of the Sioux should surely be visited upon them. With the exception of eight Arikara and two Crow scouts, their retreat to the rear was precipitate and successful.

A consideration of the extensive and complete preparation made by the commands of Crook, Gibbon and Custer for the campaign upon which they entered, including arms, rolling stock, cavalry mounts, provisions, forage, clothing, medical supplies, and numerous incidentals, prompts consideration of the requisite industry and cooperation on the part of warriors, women and children of the tribes in mounting, arming and rationing the approximately two thousand men who fought victoriously for two days. For them there was no base of supplies behind the lines; no governmental nor contractors' commissaries to draw upon: every last item of equipment came from the wigwams and lodges. The eagerness and thoroughness with which no end of details must have been attended to may be measured by the degree of success attained by the warriors in reversing the

situation intended for their destruction. There was not at the Little Big Horn a repetition of what occurred at the Washita in November, 1868, when Custer's troopers tore through the center of a sleeping encampment, bringing dismay and death to natives there hibernated, regardless of age, sex, or condition of health.

Notwithstanding that Sitting Bull was the head chief of the Sioux at the time, it was Chief Gall who was credited with the generalship which prevailed over the plans of the military. Gall, a Hunkpapa, was born in 1840, and was therefore thirty-six years of age at the time of the Battle of the Little Big Horn. By the time he reached twenty-five years of age, Gall was noted for courage and daring, and throughout the years following inspired his warrior associates by example, to fight relentlessly for a place in the sun for the red-men of the West.

The task of avenging Custer fell to Generals Crook and Terry. There was no thought of armistice to enable the Government to orient its views with respect to the rights of the natives; to listen dispassionately to expressions of Indian viewpoint. The Government had many other matters to occupy its mind and attention. The Indian "problem" had been turned over to the military: let the military work out the solution!

Under Crook were Colonel Nelson A. Miles, Colonel R. S. MacKenzie, and Captain Anson Mills. What was left of the broken Seventh Cavalry returned to Fort Lincoln. After order had been restored among the military units Crook launched an active pursuit of the Indians, but the red warriors were successful in eluding contact with the troopers all of the summer of 1876. Provisions and forage became so scarce that the Govern-

ment forces were in a bad way by September. Horse meat, mule meat and wild onions were resorted to as fall approached.

The Indians were harassed and were becoming weary, but they were good providers, although burdened by their women and children on the march. Captain Mills and one hundred and twenty-five mounted men were detached from the army and ordered to proceed to Deadwood, in the Black Hills, to procure a supply of provisions. En route, at Slim Buttes, in the northwest corner of South Dakota, the command came upon a Sioux village. This band had thought it was safe in that remote spot, concluding that there was no sensible reason why a military force should march from the Yellowstone country toward the Black Hills. The Sioux camp was surprised at dawn and soon was in the hands of the troopers. The chief, American Horse, together with four warriors and fifteen women and children escaped and found haven in a cave nearby. A hundred or more of the younger warriors also got away and took up a position on the neighboring bluff, from where they launched a troublesome fire on the troopers, but because of the risk of shooting some of their own people extreme care had to be exercised and this lessened considerably the effectiveness of their shots.

A courier was despatched to General Crook for reinforcements. The Indians had hoped that the large force of braves under the redoubtable Crazy Horse was near enough to come to their assistance, but in this they were disappointed. Crook, upon his arrival, determined to clear out the cave in which American Horse had sought refuge, and found it necessary to deliver a

deadly hail of lead into the pit before the squaws set up a death-chant. When American Horse came out the stalwart chief was discovered to have been almost disemboweled by gun-fire. To bear the pain he was enduring he was chewing hard on a piece of wood. That night he died, surrounded by his family. Inside the cave the dead bodies of two Indian warriors, a squaw, and a child were found.

Too late, Crazy Horse with six hundred warriors appeared. After one or two sorties against the superior force of troopers, he retired from the field. This was in September.

It was realized that the warriors and their families had spent the summer months preparing for the part they would have to play in defending their villages in the Big Horn country when the three-column attack converged upon the lodges, and, although they had succeeded in saving their women, children and pony herds when the assault was launched by the military, the natives would in all probability be ill-prepared to carry on in the field during the winter months. In the Indian encampment surplus supplies had been consumed. There had been little or no opportunity for hunting parties to lay in stores of provisions to tide over until the chinook winds of early spring should clear away accumulations of snow from the surface of the plains and from the ravines. The women and children had to devote so much of their time in preparation for the defense of the village, and later in caring for the wounded, and burying the dead, that little time was left them to make clothing suitable for the zero-weather days ahead.

The wretched circumstances in which the Indians thus

found themselves as winter approached in 1876, prompted Crook to plan a winter campaign. There was realization that this would be arduous work for the troopers and that everything that Government resources could provide for their convenience and comfort must be supplied. The men who made up the military units were outfitted with woolen clothing, fur coats, fur caps, and other equipment which would afford comfort in severe weather.

Word was brought in that the Cheyennes were encamped on a tributary of the Powder River. Colonel MacKenzie with ten troops of cavalry, and a detachment of Indian scouts, was ordered to locate and destroy the Indian village.

On November twenty-third, when the temperature was below zero and the ground covered with snow, MacKenzie's force started for Willow Creek Canyon in the Big Horn range. He had seven hundred and fifty cavalymen and three hundred and fifty Indians in his command. These Indians were friendly Pawnees, Crows, Shoshones, and some renegade Cheyennes who had responded to the lure of the white man's larder and commissary bounties. Perhaps this sign of the times was a herald of the end of Indian independence. Perhaps these Indians were the wisest of the natives: who can tell? Certainly they were the less Homeric members of the tribes.

The Cheyennes, under the leadership of Dull Knife, had taken up a strategic position, but nevertheless attack had not been anticipated at this time. The village was surprised while most of the inhabitants were asleep.

Indians when not apprehensive of attack sleep naked. When the attack began the warriors had time only to reach for their rifles, bolting out of the tepees into bitterly cold weather. Women and children caught up blankets and followed the braves into the outer cold. Dull Knife, fighting gallantly among the wigwams, was found later with a half-dozen bullets in his body. Numerous warriors, under sub-chiefs, retreated along the canyon, and, naked as they were, in weather between ten and twenty degrees below zero, kept up a continuous gun-fire on the troops. It was inevitable that cold and hunger soon compelled the natives to surrender at a Government Agency.

Miles had established a winter post at the mouth of the Tongue River. He had five hundred men in his command. Supplies were transported from Glendive, one of Miles' tasks being to protect these wagon trains. On October eighteenth, Lieut. Colonel Elwell S. Otis had a serious brush with the Sioux who had attacked a train.

The temper of the Indians, and what they were thinking about at that time, may be realized by reading the following note which was sent to Otis during a lull in the fighting:

"I want to know what you are doing traveling on this road. You scare all the buffalo away. I want to hunt in this place. I want you to turn back from here. If you don't I'll fight you again. I want you to leave what you have got and turn back from here. I am your friend."

SITTING BULL.

Otis asked Sitting Bull to come in for conference, but the chief declined, sending three sub-chiefs to represent

him. The conference came to nothing, as Otis had no authority to do anything but kill Indians. The warriors withdrew from the scene, no doubt in disgust.

That same evening Miles joined forces with Otis, and with about four hundred men and one field gun a chase after Sitting Bull got under way. With Sitting Bull at this time were Gall and other renowned chiefs, together with one thousand warriors: Miniconjou, Sans Arcs, Brulés and Hunkpapas; and women and children to a total of about three thousand Indians. There followed a conference between Miles and Sitting Bull. At this meeting, and another held the following day, the Sioux chief stood firm on his demand that the whites give up their aggression and leave the Yellowstone country to the natives. Miles was obdurate and declared the pow-wow at an end. Then followed two days of fierce conflict. In despair, about two thousand of the natives surrendered to Miles under promise of good treatment. Sitting Bull, Gall, Two Moons and four hundred warriors remained aloof and headed for Fort Walsh across the Canadian boundary.

The Sioux chief led his legion straight north, passing the vicinities of Forts Maginnis, Claggett, Assiniboine, and Belknap, arriving in formation at his intended destination on the west bank of the Milk River, about sixty miles inside the Dominion's border. This was in May, 1877. In the previous December, about three thousand Indians from Montana had arrived in Canada, and were permitted to camp at Wood Mountain. They had taken with them a large herd of horses.

Sitting Bull was met by Inspector Walsh of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, an officer long-experi-

enced in getting along amicably with Indians. Sitting Bull's camp had just become comfortably settled when the chief was visited by an American commission comprising an interpreter, a priest, and General Miles' head scout. They had come to discuss the matter of the return to Montana of Sitting Bull and his followers. In the camp there were two hundred and five lodges, and in addition to Sitting Bull, were present Spotted Eagle, Pretty Bear, Bear's Cap, and The-eagle-sitting-down. Other Sioux chiefs in the camp were Flying Bird, Whirlwind Bear, and Iron Dog. This conference was held on October 17, 1877. At the opening of the conference Sitting Bull made a ceremony of shaking hands with each of the Canadian officers, on hand as observers, but disdained the three Americans.

Ottawa would have been pleased had the Sioux agreed to return to the United States, but was not unwilling to protect them while in Canada so long as they conducted themselves peaceably. It was the decision of the Sioux chiefs at that time that they would not return to Montana.

An international side-light bearing upon this conference was that Premier Mackenzie, of Canada, sent a Minister to Washington to discuss with authorities there the subject of Sitting Bull's return. Both Washington and Downing Street took cognizance of the departure whereby the Premier, instead of the Governor-General of Canada, initiated the negotiations. (The Governor-General was at the time in the Northwest.) It was agreed that the American Government might send a commission into Canada to arrange for the peaceful return of the Sioux. The Commissioner of the Mounted

Police was to suggest to Sitting Bull that should the Indian leader decline to depart peacefully, the American Government might be given permission to send into Canada a military force for the purpose. General Sherman, of the American army, had advanced the thought that while Sitting Bull remained in Canada, there was the probability that the neighborhood of his sojourn there might become a rendezvous for Indians from far and near who still were able and willing to fight.

The matter settled for the time being (that the Sioux would remain in Canada), Sitting Bull and his adherents managed to eke out an existence through four winters and summers. Toward the end of this period he began to move around the country. At Qu Appelle he appeared with twelve hundred of his followers, requesting provisions and a reserve in Canada. No reserve could be given him, but it was agreed to provision him as far as Wood Mountain, if he would agree to return south, where food, land, and a pardon had been promised him by the Americans.

It was late in the summer of 1881, that Sitting Bull, Gall, and the other chiefs decided to re-cross the border, where, at Poplar Creek, Montana, the head chief turned his rifle over to Major Brotherton, of the United States army, in token of surrender.

General Terry, of the United States army, communicating with the ex-patriates, shortly after their arrival in Canada, had said:

"The President invites you to come to the boundary of his country and yours, and there give up your arms and ammunition, and thence to go to the agencies to which he will assign you, and there give up your horses, excepting those required

for peace purposes. Your arms and horses will then be sold, and with the money obtained for them, cows will be bought and sent you."

Having talked with some of Chief Joseph's warriors who had avoided the surrender in the Bear Paw Mountains in 1877, Sitting Bull was not intrigued with the prospect of a cow herd!

General Terry's ineptly worded invitation wherein he requested Custer's nemesis to give up his horse and his gun, was answered by Sitting Bull in the following words:

"For sixty-four years you have kept me and my people and treated us bad. It was the people on your side that started us making the depredations. We could not go anywhere else, so we took refuge in this country. You have got ears, and you have eyes to see with, and you see how I live with these people. If you think I am a fool you are a bigger fool than I am. You come here to tell us lies, but we don't want to hear them. I don't wish any such language used to me; that is, to use such lies in my Great Mother's (the Queen's) house. Go back home where you came from. This country is mine, and I intend to stay here . . . I wish you to go back—and take it easy going back."

There was nothing ambiguous about this communication. In all times the Indians hated furiously individuals who possessed or cultivated "double tongues," by which they meant persons having characters of such baseness that they could say one thing while believing or intending the opposite. Beyond question Sitting Bull's missive as quoted above came from one possessing but a single tongue.

The Canadian Government, however, while it did not molest the Sioux in their retreat on Milk River,

regarded Sitting Bull's people as indigenous to the United States, and what counsel was offered the band was to the effect that the five years' visit in Canada had allowed time for conditions to adjust themselves so that no risk of reprisal should be encountered by return to the States.

The returning Indians, with Sitting Bull and Gall, were in 1882 taken eastward to Standing Rock Agency, where the steamboat's arrival was the signal for a spontaneous reception by throngs of settlers, Agency employees, and the military. Gall's mother was one of those first at the gang-plank when the boat landed, crying and moaning in thankfulness that her son who had worsted Custer at the Little Big Horn had returned home. In time, Gall became somewhat resigned to life at the Agency, and until he died in 1895, at Oak Creek, near Standing Rock Agency, continued as a conservative counselor in all matters pertaining to Indian affairs and Indian welfare, his natural ability and great common sense serving as a bulwark against needless oppression of his people.

In December, 1876, about the time Sitting Bull and Gall journeyed to Canada, General Miles moved against Crazy Horse, who commanded about eight hundred and fifty warriors, stationed on the cliffs surmounting a valley in the Wolf Mountains, a spur of the Big Horn range. A fierce conflict followed Miles' attack, the brunt of the charge falling upon Big Crow's command, and although the Indians suffered the loss of numerous warriors and much of their provisions and supplies, they retreated when a heavy snowfall began. It was not until the following spring that Crazy Horse

and the remnant of his band surrendered in face of the inevitable. Crazy Horse was perhaps the greatest soldier among the Indians. Time after time he defeated white troops in combat; as often when his own forces were in less number than the whites as when the reverse was true. To the Indians themselves he was a great chief. Of all the supplies and materials captured by his braves from white troopers and pack-trains it is history that Crazy Horse retained no trophies or gear for himself, other than making sure that he had the best weapon obtainable.

This chief's incarceration on the reservation was irksome. He was sullen—uncommunicative. His mind dwelt continuously upon past glories and upon the wild freedom that was gone forever. This attitude prompted the military to keep him closely guarded. On September 7, 1877, he died in the guardhouse from a fatal knife wound in the stomach. It was never cleared up whether the death blow was the result of bayonet work on the part of an overzealous guard or whether Crazy Horse, in Japanese fashion, committed hari-kari as a way out of his miseries.

The pursuit of the military had been so relentless following Custer's defeat on the Little Big Horn that at the beginning of 1877, aside from the bands which had gone to Canada, there remained in the field but one organized band of sixty lodges, under Iron Star and Lamé Deer. (A lodge accounted for from five to ten persons.) In May, Miles came upon the camp, capturing the provisions and killing some of the Indians and scattering the remainder of them. Lamé Deer and Iron Star, with a half-dozen of their principal warriors,

were surrounded while they were looking for a way out for the women and children. Miles entertained the idea of capturing these men alive. A conference was called on the ground, and while guarded amenities appeared to be making progress, an unfortunate gesture with a rifle in the hands of one of the white scouts precipitated a *mêlée* in which Miles himself had the narrowest escape from death of his long military career—and in which all of the Indians were killed!

It is worth reminding students of Indian history that while there were tales of the capture and mistreatment of white women by Indians, the truth is that for every white woman ravished by Indians it is very likely true that a hundred Indian women and girls were likewise manhandled by white men in the West in those times. We may set up a distinction, of course, but in the minds of the natives there was no acceptable basis for distinction.

Another point is that Indians were not always seeking whites to kill as some histories would have us believe. The fact that their numbers increased from the time of Lewis and Clarke, 1804, until the arrival of the railroads and of the seekers for gold, is suggestive of various laudable human ambitions; suggestive of slowly advancing knowledge, of care, of interest, and of family coherence. Moreover, there was vast betterment of Indian physique and of personal courage from the time the first white wanderers crossed the plains and mountains, until the days of Roman Nose, Red Cloud, Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. The Indian nation went down when at the height of Indian achievement; not, as had

been the case with other races of history, when they were at a low ebb of virility.

The American Indians were peculiarly endowed and equipped to provide for themselves in the prairie country. The great stores of dried buffalo meat, stocks of beautifully tanned hides, the heaped racks of symmetrically carved bows and arrows, hand-made, the supplies of grease, of dried berries, and other provisions found in caches in Indian winter quarters by white troops on numerous occasions, were eloquent testimony of the industry of hunters, squaws and girls, at all seasons of the year, a complete inventory of which might constitute the domestic annals of the American Indian "in his habit as he lived."

CHAPTER XVI

RECOURSE TO "MESSIAHS"

PONCA. UTE. GHOST DANCES. WAL-TIT-A-WAN. CO-
WE-GO. QUEETIZE-OW. PIUTE. BATTLE OF WOUNDED
KNEE. STANDING BEAR.

CHAPTER XVI

RECOURSE TO "MESSIAHS"

ONE of the earliest treaties made by the American Government with Western tribes following the Louisiana Purchase was that made with the Puncah, or Ponca, Indians who resided on lands in Dakota. This was in the year 1817. Revised treaties were negotiated with the Poncas in 1828, 1858 and 1865. Article II of the treaty of 1865 says:

"In consideration of the cession of that portion of the reservation, above described, by the Ponca tribe of Indians to the Government of the United States, by way of rewarding them for their constant fidelity to the Government and citizens thereof and with a view of returning to the said tribe of Ponca Indians their old burying grounds and corn fields, hereby cede and relinquish to the tribe of Ponca Indians the following described fractional townships."

Then followed minute description of the townships and sections involved. The title was as good as that covering the most iron-bound parcel of real estate recorded in any land registry. But, a decade later the Poncas had to pack up their belongings and shift to Indian Territory. It was a most ruthless transfer. The predicament in which the Ponca families found themselves was pathetic. In the Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1876, p. 8, appears the following reference to the transaction:

"The Poncas have always been friendly to the whites. The orders of the Government always have met with obedient compliance at their hands. Their removal from their homes on the Missouri River was to them a great hardship. They had been born and raised there. They had homes there in which they lived according to their ideas of comfort. Many of them had engaged in agriculture, and possessed cattle and agricultural implements."

Of the seven hundred Poncas transferred to Indian Territory, one hundred and fifty died within three months. The miseries they experienced weighed heavily upon these natives. The eldest son of a chief named Standing Bear was one of those who died. The lad had made a dying request that his bones be "taken home" for burial, by which he meant to Dakota. Shortly after the boy's death his father left the reservation, with thirty of his followers, half of them women and children, hoping to escape pursuit and to reach the burying-ground of their ancient lands. Government troops soon overtook the little band and they were returned to the reservation. It was in this instance that an Omaha editor interested himself and out of which grew a legal battle having for its purpose court interpretation of the status of the Indians in view of the provisions incorporated in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

In view of the numerous sympathetic and understanding Reports submitted to Congress throughout the years by succeeding Indian Commissioners, and by the Interior Department; of investigating committee minority Reports, and of editorial writings, one reasons: Why were the American natives so inconsiderately treated by the Government? Why were practically all

of the solemn treaties broken? Why were the Indians slaughtered by the military?

An explanation given by an editorial writer in 1879 was that arrayed against persons who advised consideration and fairness were "the colossal forces of selfishness, greed, love of power, and allied to these, the subtlest and most despicable of allies—a national lack of a sense of honor."

Let us see what else the record holds that is illuminating!

Two years before the Sioux bands which went to Canada returned to the United States occurred occasional eruptions between the military and Indian groups which had never gone onto the reservations, or which had wandered away from the designated areas. One of these occurred in the fall of 1879, when the Utes, of southern Colorado, because of needless differences with the Indian agent at the White River Agency, killed the agent and several of his aids. When this took place a military unit under Major Thornton was post-haste sent to relieve the Agency and chastise the Utes, but once again the approach was not reasoned out with due consideration of cause and effect. The Indians, uninformed as to the intention of the Government force, decided to resist armed intervention, believing that the matter in dispute was one which the Government as distinguished from the military should undertake to adjudicate. In the resistance offered to the entry of the military, Major Thornton and several of his command were killed.

The Government then lost no time in organizing adequate military forces which within two days reached the scene of the disturbance. Now, when it was some-

what late, wiser counsel prevailed. It was made plain to the natives that no attack was to be made upon the women and children: these unfortunates were invited to foregather so that under military guard they might be taken to quarters at the Agency where shelter and provisions were available for them. Quite a contrast to the policy pursued following the Minnesota uprising in 1862!

The chief of the Utes was the able Ouray. A peace was at once negotiated and signed, Ouray agreeing to apprehend the warriors actually present at the attacks upon the Agency people, turning these men over to the military authorities for trial.

Following Sitting Bull's return from Canada in 1881, and the herding of the remainder of the Sioux and Cheyennes on the reservations, there ensued a period during which the military pursued a "mopping-up" campaign, and during which also the restrained warriors fretted in idleness while the unnatural procedure continued which was intended to accustom these resourceful nomads to life in restricted quarters where sustenance was provided for them.

The Government representatives were not alone in realizing that a decade or two of time should have to pass before the natives should be able so to forget the past that they could accustom themselves to living as docile wards of the white men. The Indians themselves knew this, and it worried them. The interregnum was not to be marked by gradatory steps of acquiescence. What was best for the Indians was a moot question so long as should live the indomitable spirits, principals in

the last grand gesture toward Indian freedom and independence.

In May, 1890, the Sioux and Shoshones on the reservations had reached that mental state in their desperation at the restraints imposed upon them, that they were seized by a religious craze which contemplated the coming of the Messiah. "Ghost dances" and "Dances of death" were organized. As always, when a demand for "Messiahs" appears, Messiahs were not wanting. Wal-tit-a-wan, Co-we-go, and Queetize-ow, the latter a Piute, announced themselves as genuine deliverers. Sitting Bull concluded that perhaps the enthusiasm engendered through these means might be the way out.

Numerous Indians, well armed, left the reservations. At Wounded Knee and at Pine Ridge serious outbreaks occurred. Sitting Bull's camp was situated forty miles northwest of Fort Yates, North Dakota. Generals Miles and Brooke with their troopers surrounded his camp. A device of the military for some years had been to enlist ambitious Indians and half-breeds as scouts in the Government service. Two of these at the time of the "dances" were Bull Head and Shave Head. Sitting Bull was arrested, and in a scrimmage which was never satisfactorily, nor creditably, explained, the chief was shot and killed by one of the Indian scouts and, although resistance continued at a frightful cost both to Indians and Government forces, the military gained the upper hand toward the end of the year 1890.

Thus ended the hope of the American Indians to effect self-determination, to live in Indian fashion, and to rule according to Indian customs the land of their

birth, where their ancestors had lived and ruled before them.

At the time Sitting Bull was shot and killed when the order went forth from the local Indian agent for his arrest, the following Indians were present:

Indian police: Bull Head, Grey Eagle, Weasel Bear, Eagle Man, Shave Head, Red Tomahawk, Little Soldier, Holy Medicine, Black-prairie-chicken, Iron Star, Afraid-of-soldier, Magpie Eagle, Little Eagle, He-alone-is-man, One Feather, Hawk Man, Arm Strong, Private Middle, Iron Thunder, and Spotted Thunder.

Sitting Bull's bodyguard, and those Indians faithful to him until the last included: Chase Wounded, Jumping Bull, Catch-the-bear, Spotted-horn-bull, Black Bird, Strikes-the-kettle, Brave Thunder, Red Bear, White Bird, Crow Foot (his son) and his wife.

So that this account of the American Indians may be complete it may suffice to record what fate had in store for the cousins of the Sioux resident in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the Canadian Northwest.

CHAPTER XVII

TRAILS AND FUR-TRADING POSTS

FRENCH-INDIAN RELATIONS. EARLY TRAILS. CHIP-
PEWA. OJIBWAY. LOUIS RIEL. MÉTIS. LAPINE. PÈRE
LACOMBE. BISHOP TACHE.

CHAPTER XVII

TRAILS AND FUR-TRADING POSTS

IN CHAPTER V, is presented information about the Indians in Canada prior to the time Great Britain won that country from France. To establish instructive perspective it may be recalled that a century before a settlement appeared on the Red River of the North, the French maintained trading stations at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie.

As early as 1660, Pére Mesnard reached the shores of Lake Superior. Dablon and Marquette were at Sault Ste. Marie in 1668; and, as has been recorded, Perrot was at the Sault in 1670-71. In 1731, Pierre de la Verendrye, a French army captain, born in Canada, left Montreal to search for a passage to the western ocean, the journey having been financed by interested traders. Verendrye was accompanied by three sons, one of them sixteen years of age; a nephew, a dozen soldiers, and a number of Indians. In a disagreement with a band of Sioux at the Lake of the Woods, several members of Verendrye's party were killed, including a priest, and the explorer's eldest son. This party spent twelve years between Lake Superior, the Saskatchewan country, the upper Missouri, and the Yellowstone country. One of the sons, ascending the Missouri, saw the Rocky Mountains on January 1, 1743. Captain Verendrye died in Quebec in 1749.

It was on this journey that Verendrye established trading posts and temporary forts at Rainy River, Lake of the Woods, North-West Angle, Lake Winnipeg, the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and at the site which became Portage La Prairie. The old fur-trader route between Montreal and the far West was by way of the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes and on to the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, where, in 1680, Du Lhut established Fort Kamalastigouia. This was later known as the Jesuit trail. For the purpose of journeying to-and-fro between these remotely separated places, where the transportation of shipments of fur was not involved, there were overland shortcuts across Ontario.

One trail led from the western end of Lake Ontario, to Lake Simcoe, the Severn River, to Georgian Bay; thence to Manitoulin, Garden River, Thunder Bay, to the Kaministiquia. There was also an old Indian trail from Montreal up the Ottawa River, the Madawaska River, Lake Calabogie, and westward over lakes, rivers, and portages to Penetanguishine, on Georgian Bay. These trails were as old as the Mohawk trail, Chenango trail, and the trails which later became known as the Lackawanna, and the Sullivan trails, in New York and Pennsylvania. They were more than a century older than the Santa Fé, Mormon, Bozeman, and Oregon trails across the western states.

So far as Canada is concerned, in the course of time it developed that tribe names lessened in importance as the white population rapidly increased. From the time of the American war of independence until shortly before the transcontinental railroads were built (about

one hundred years) the Canadian white population managed to get along with the Indians resident there on terms of rare amity compared to what was experienced south of the Canadian boundary during that time.

Of the tribes originally in Canada the Ojibways, or Chippewas, survived to modern times, retaining their identity in large numbers, although scattered over a wide territory. Their livelihoods were derived from trapping, the outlet for the products of the bush and the rivers being the Hudson Bay Company and other, independent, fur companies.

From Michipicoten, on Lake Superior, extends the Missanabie trail north to Moose Factory on James Bay. Even as late as fifty years ago well-known Indians in the territory north of Lake Superior were Oombash, Simon Smallboy, Daniel Wascowin, Charles Wabinoo, Mooniahwinini, and chiefs Missabay, Moonias, Bunting, and Esau. The given names preceding Indian surnames, became habitual through association with Hudson Bay Company agents and factors, who liked the idea of employing familiar names in addressing individual natives. The Indians of the Chippewa country who under the French régime learned to say "Bo-joo" (Bon jour) were not long in picking up "What-che" when the English-speaking Hudson's Bay minions took possession of the North country. "What-che" being their interpretation of "What cheer."

The Chippewas in American territory, south of Manitoba, also continued for long to retain their identity, even to the present day. At the time of Bonneville's expedition westward, 1834, Chippewa chiefs of impor-

tance on the Minnesota lakes were Ozawindib, and Hole-in-the-day.

The name Chippewa, or Chippeway, is of the same people called Ojibways. The Ojibways, originally Shacopays, occupied a large region northeast of the Yellowstone River. In 1670, Ojibways at Sault Ste. Marie were called Sauteurs, by the French.

The name was variously rendered "Odjibway" (plural Odjibwaig) and is derived from "ojib" to pucker-up, and "ub-way" to roast, or "to pucker-up by roasting." This nation included the Messassagnes, or Mississaugas, roaming throughout the territory north of Lake Huron. In the early seventeen hundreds the Chippewas drove the Fox Indians from northern Wisconsin, as a result of which the Foxes joined the Sauks.

As agricultural lands in eastern and central Ontario were taken up by settlers, the Chippewas resident there were given reservations. Remnants settled at Rice Lake, Alnwick, New Credit, Sarnia, Lake Simcoe, Couchiching, and other places. In late years the chief of the group at Hiawatha on Rice Lake has been Henry Cowie.

A tribe of the Ojibways, known as the Atnas, in 1790, flourished in the territory south of the hunting-grounds of the Athapascans, in northwestern Canada.

In early French writings, where the *Saulteaux*, or *Sauteaux* Indians are mentioned, it is the Ojibways who are referred to. In the main the Chippewas were of the Algonquin group, as distinguished from the Iroquois.

It fell to the lot of the Chippewas situated in the vast domain north of Lakes Huron and Superior, extending to Hudson Bay, that their country was to continue long-

est to be what has been termed wild fur country. It was not until well along in the present century that anything was undertaken having in view exploitation of the land, timber and mineral resources of the great central area of this territory. The tributaries of the Moose River, and the valley of that river, continued for long to be prolific sources of valuable peltries. In this terrain Hudson Bay, and later, other fur-gathering companies, reaped a rich harvest. The present writer, for two years at the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century, moved among the Chippewa tribesmen at the posts, and along the trails and creeks of that bountiful fur region. It was a prosperous country at the time of the advent of the railroads.

An important date in Indian history as well as in Canadian history is the year 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed westward across the Dominion. At a time fifteen years before the railroad was finished Indian conditions along the old Jesuit trail from Georgian Bay to Fort Garry (Winnipeg) were practically the same as they had been for centuries. There was a large village on Manitoulin Island at the upper end of Lake Huron. Here the Indians were in poor circumstances. They were an inactive, dispirited citizenry, subsisting largely on fish, and hiving up in frail tepees during the long winter months. There was an Indian school established at the Sault in the early seventies, where the Jesuits endeavored to impart the rudiments of learning and religion to the natives thereabout.

At the mouth of the Nipigon River numerous Indians were hangers-on around the thriving Hudson Bay Com-

pany's post at that place. Post records of that time disclose the names of three squaws, which were: Naughty-little-woman, She-who-cries-with-joy, and The-Cloud-that-is-past. The names are translations from the Indian tongue.

For two decades or longer prior to the advent of the railroad the Government of Canada took an interest in the welfare of the Indians of the West to the extent of supplying them with small amounts of money annually so that they might eke out their incomes from trapping with purchases of staple provisions at the posts of the Hudson Bay Company.

At Shebandowan Lake on the Jesuit trail west of Fort William was a portage station where the Indians foregathered upon occasion. Here the Indians were more vigorous than those on Manitoulin and farther east. Through contact with the French and English fur traders they had begun to wear cloth pants and coats, but as there was little of choice in the garments available the clothes hung over their lean frames like rags on a fence. The chiefs and medicine men painted their faces, being particularly partial to green and yellow. At ceremonials the medicine men sat upon the earth and pounded tomtoms. The natives lived in birch-bark wigwams which were somewhat large and roomy. The chiefs wore bands of bright cloth around their heads.

Farther along the trail, on the Lake of the Woods, the settlement was known as White Dog Mission, where the churchman in charge was a half-breed. He had a roughly constructed house of Eastern design, but his good wife preferred to live in a birch-bark tepee.

The French during their long tenure of western

Canada had in very many instances married Indian girls, which accounts for the numerous half-breeds in that part of the country. It was this mixture of the races which resulted in a more virile people, native to the bush, arriving to populate the shores of the lakes, and the prairies of the West.

Habitants in considerable numbers released by the *seigneurial* families which returned to France when Amherst, Haviland and Murray, at Montreal, in 1760, following Wolfe's victory at Quebec the year before, captured Canada, followed La Verendrye's trail to the north of Lake Superior and to the basin of the Red River. Here the *Métis*, as they were called, squatted in fancied seclusion along the rivers and lakes, which served as highways and as sources of sustenance, where life's ends might be served leisurely, sans tithes, sans allegiance, and sans everything that conflicted with individual right to live beyond accounting—everything, that is, excepting Mother Church.

Oddly enough it was along the Red River, and the Saskatchewan, that the last expiring Indian protests were made against the treatment received from their masters. There were two uprisings, one in the year 1869, and one in 1885. It may be noted that these dates are nearly contemporaneous with the end of Indian effort south of the Canadian border, in Montana, at the time of Sitting Bull.

It was a natural development that as the influence of established government came to be recognized in nation, state and territory, with properly installed judiciary, orderly forms of procedure gained favor in all departments of human relations. Riots, outbreaks, eruptions,

strikes, and even rebellions were almost certain to occur where masses of inhabitants milled hither-and-yon following the dictates of self-interest.

In pioneer days when the country was young as a political entity, disputes between groups of persons and communities were almost invariably settled, or left unsettled, by resort to arms. Success, if not *right*, attended the side possessing the larger resources. By the time the eighties of the past century arrived, in the United States and the Dominion of Canada constitutional government had progressed in territorial organization to that state where it was understood that matters in dispute must be settled in the courts, not by resort to personal assault. Further, governments, in their personnels, being institutions of relatively few years' tenure, are disposed to present to the more permanent judiciary for judgment and decision questions entitled to consideration in view of the guaranties of national constitutions.

The time had arrived when so-called Indian rebellions, after they had taken place, must have the consideration of the courts. Whether the uprising was a result of governmental neglect or stupidity, whether due to unlawful aggression against the natives, or to misunderstanding of simple human rights, the place for adjudication and for constitutional review was in the courts.

In a hundred years, or by 1869, the population of the Red River settlement in Canada had grown to about twelve thousand, the majority of whom were half-breeds. Communication with the East, where the Dominion Government headquarters was situated had,

during this century, been by way of the nearly six hundred miles of the Jesuit trail to the head of Lake Superior, thence along the shores of the lakes, and the St. Lawrence River. No railroad, nor telegraph line, connected the East with the West, in Canada. By the year 1869, however, railroads and telegraphs had been built in the United States, and proposals were under way to extend both these forms of communication northward from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Fort Garry. The telegraph was to enable the long arm of government to reach from Ottawa to the fort on the Red River, affording daily contact, where previously months of time were consumed in sending for information and receiving replies. No longer would storm-tossed, ice-locked Kitchee-Gamee (Lake Superior) intervene during long winter months as a barrier between the East and the West.

Forthwith, government interest in the West increased inquiringly! Americans were already exploring and exploiting their Western domain. The well-developed provinces of Eastern Canada must be alive, and look into the possible opportunities of the Great Northwest!

Previously, the Indians and half-breeds resident along the Red and other great rivers of the Canadian West had led existences detached from the seat of authority. With plenty of wild game at hand, against the taking of which there was no closed season, the Indians and their half-red cousins lived as they desired to live. As had Roman Nose and his people, in Colorado, in 1866, so did the Indians and the *Métis* of Northwestern Canada, in 1869, look askance at the

approach of the telegraph, and rumors of railroads to come.

Having learned from their paternal progenitors from Quebec something about the virtues of legal titles to land holdings, the *Métis* who had squatted here and there on the choice trapping, hunting and fishing plots, became alarmed at the prospect of the land in the West being thrown open to settlement from the East, without regard to Indian and half-breed tenure, long established. In the cabins, lodges and tepees along the rivers and lakes, declamatory harangue roused the natives to the end that they must in unmistakable terms assert their rights. The position occupied by these natives was little different from that in which the Indians of the American lands found themselves as from decade to decade the Westward march of adventuring settlers encroached upon hunting grounds for centuries inhabited by the American natives.

What difference there was resided in the circumstance that the half-breeds of the Canadian Northwest were farther advanced in a social and domestic sense. In mission and Jesuit schools many of these people had been given elementary instruction, so that in numerous instances they were able to read. While, due to this advantage, the natives were better able to reason intelligently and logically, there was little likelihood of progress along desired lines unless a capable leader could be found, preferably among themselves. It was into this situation, at this time, that fate precipitated Louis Riel, the son of a white father, and French-Indian mother.

Riel's first opportunity to attract attention in the Red

River country came in the year 1867, when he was twenty-three years of age, and when the Canadian Federation was formed.

A transfer of the lands of the West, from Imperial to Canadian authority, had to be worked out. Under pressure from the Crown of England the Hudson Bay Company gave up its ancient proprietorship of exclusive rights in the Northwest. Due to lack of preparatory publicity and propaganda, such as would have been employed in later times, the Indians, half-breeds, and other settlers in the Red River country were not advised of orderly steps to be taken in the transfer. The half-breeds, who were in the majority, gained the impression that they were to become "a colony of a colony."

There is no doubt that in the unending talk on the trails, in hunting camps, and tepees, Louis Riel occupied a conspicuous position. He was a man of stout physique. He was a fluent speaker, even if his vocabulary included a choice line of invective, learned not in Montreal where for a time he studied for church orders, but from his associates of the trap-lines along the Red River, or the reaches of the Saskatchewan.

Riel's opportunity had come! Because of his speaking ability he was precipitated into leadership—a leadership of protest against what was regarded by the Indians and *Métis* as usurpation of their lands. He was subjected to the pressure of argument advanced by companions less able to reason than he was. Whether willing or unwilling he was by circumstances pressed forward, so that at a place and at a time he should have to make the right decisions quickly and with authority, or perish.

History teaches that few men selected by destiny to assume leadership of peoples were not early in their elevation chastened by a sober sense of responsibility—responsibility for what was to become of those looking to them for guidance and delivery. There is evidence that Louis Riel was early enough visited by the genii of caution. There is evidence, too, that had he been of the prophet mold he might have attained to the heights of nationalistic statesmanship. Like Aguinaldo of a later day in another part of the world, his abilities may not have been quite equal to the opportunity. That he himself sensed a lack in this respect was apparent, as, energetically, he thumbed through the tomes in the scant library of the Archbishop at Fort Garry. To the prelate, Riel complained that here were no works with texts that should point the way to the acquisition of political skill. For surely political skill would be indispensable if a republic, or even an independent Crown colony, were to become a territorial reality in Rupert's Land, in the face of national policies, already far advanced, which contemplated a united Dominion from ocean to ocean.

To understand the situation one must keep in mind that whether the vast Northwest contained opportunity had been of inconsequential interest to Canadians in far-away Ontario, Quebec, and the maritime provinces, prior to the time of Confederation. Interest of important magnitude in the Canadian Northwest lagged about sixty years behind American interest in American lands west of the Mississippi River. The Louisiana Purchase was made in 1803; Canadian Confederation took place in 1867. During these six decades of time the

Red River country in Prince Rupert's Land (later, Manitoba) became the homeland of a somewhat numerous citizenry of Indians and half-breeds who had become accustomed to the fancy that for all time they were to remain beyond the outermost boundaries of government and of laws made for them by others.

If Ontario, Quebec and the maritime provinces desired to form a Confederation, by all means allow them to do so; but, the *Métis* reasoned, why should not the natives of the bleak Northwest be recognized as able to set up a régime of their own: if not a separate Crown colony, then a republic? Riel's comrades of the plains were of little aid to him in these matters. In his quest for support, other than Indian guns and tomahawks, Riel scanned the records with the hope of enlisting in his cause any other elements of discontent. Help from France? . . . The Church? To the prelates he made an eloquent appeal that Quebec, or that Rome, should intervene—that the *Métis* should be protected in their religious establishments against domination from Protestant Ontario.

But the churchmen were wiser than Louis. From what had transpired in Lower Canada (Quebec) since 1760 they knew the Church would be able to safeguard its own interests no matter who collected taxes, or who interpreted the statutes.

Suddenly, there arrived on the scene, O'Donohue, the Fenian, no doubt attracted to a locale of anti-British agitation as the camp-follower to the tail of a destroying army. O'Donohue had for Riel a glib tale of revolt, of uprising, of the vengeance of the elect upon Britain and Britain's ways. Riel listened hopefully. He

attached O'Donohue to his staff. Had he now consulted with the prelates they could have told him of the fate of another Fenian raid against the Canadas—O'Neill's sally from Buffalo to Fort Erie in 1866. But the fiery O'Donohue remained and no doubt did as much as the half-breeds themselves to precipitate hostilities.

Decisive events leading to the uprising began when in the fall of 1869 surveyors were sent from Ottawa to lay out a wagon road from the west end of the Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry (Winnipeg). This was prior to the time the territory had been transferred from the control of the Hudson Bay Company to the Dominion Government. Surveyors appeared on the scene, also, instructed to stake out lines through lands then held individually by natives. It was at this point that Riel and his supporters took action, by interrupting the surveyors in their work, the natives fearing that plans were under way to confiscate their lands.

That it was not only the *Métis* who were alarmed is evident from the fact that Lieutenant-Colonel J. Stoughton Dennis, whom the official designated to become the first lieutenant-governor of the new province, William MacDougall, sent to the Red River country in 1869 as his representative, at once encountered opposition from white settlers. To Dennis, the English-speaking settlers announced that they had not asked for provincial status; that they had not been consulted in the transfer of the Territory to federal control, and did not propose to risk either their homes or their lives, or old-time friendships (with the half-breeds) in opposing Riel and his followers.

Events developed rapidly, as they have a way of

doing when excitement and hysterics prevail. Revolters under Riel seized the fort and commodious headquarters' buildings of the Hudson Bay Company, establishing headquarters of their own therein. The Union Jack was hauled down from the flagpole, and a new flag hoisted, significantly bearing the fleur-de-lis and the shamrock!

MacDougall, before leaving Ottawa, appointed Colonel Dennis to act as lieutenant-governor in the interim. A lengthy order sent by MacDougall contained instructions to use force against the revolters. Dennis issued proclamations. It was noted that although Riel had given the local governor for the Hudson Bay Company advance notice of intention to seize the fort, the company took no defensive measures to prevent the seizure.

Planning ahead for personal comfort upon his arrival at Fort Garry, MacDougall had shipped to that point house furniture which arrived while Riel's men occupied the fort. This, the *Métis* leader had installed in his own quarters there.

MacDougall, traveling by way of Chicago and St. Paul, arrived at the border between Dakota and Manitoba, exercising the precaution to halt just within United States territory. (Oddly, some time after MacDougall took station at this point, American surveyors discovered that the border line should be some distance farther north.)

At the border MacDougall was handed an order forbidding him to enter the Red River country. About two miles inside the Canadian border was situated a Hudson Bay Company post. The order delivered to

MacDougall was dated at St. Norbert, Red River, October 21, 1869. The order from "The National Committee of the *Métis* of the Red River" contained but thirty-one words, in French, and was signed by John Bruce, President, and Louis Riel, Secretary.

On the day the order was issued, the revolted erected a fence across the wagon road leading from Dakota to Fort Garry, near the Salle River. It was on November 3, that "The National Committee," and their adherents took possession of the Hudson Bay Company's establishment at Fort Garry. Here they remained in possession for a period of eight or nine months, constituting the only government the district had during this time.

MacDougall had brought with him several aids who were to serve on his Council. They remained about a month at the border endeavoring to establish communication with the governor of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Garry. These efforts failed due to the interception of the despatches by the *Métis*. MacDougall, after issuing one or two ill-considered proclamations, returned to Ottawa.

Thus matters drifted. The federal Government held up payment of the three hundred thousand pounds sterling agreed upon as compensation to the Hudson Bay Company for relinquishment of the territory surrendered, on the ground that the Government was to come into "peaceable" possession of the region. Transfer of the territory was to be made on December 1, 1870. MacDougall's commission as lieutenant-governor was effective that date. It was stated in parliament that "The authority of the Dominion Gov-

ernment was defied, and the Hudson Bay Company seemed helpless to maintain order."

On May 2, 1870, the Premier of Canada, introduced a Bill for the establishment of a provincial government in part of the territory, the new province to be called Manitoba. The leader of the opposition in the House of Commons (later to become Premier) stated that "the Government should not dilly-dally with rebels." He was in favor of sending five, ten, or twenty thousand men if necessary to punish the rebels, making a speech in the House the day the stipulated sum of money was ultimately paid to the Hudson Bay Company.

Sir John MacDonald was Premier at that time, and the Hon. Alexander MacKenzie, leader of the opposition. In the work "The Hon. Alexander MacKenzie, His Life and Times," compiled by his secretary, William Buckingham, appears the following passage:

"When it became known to the settlers of Fort Garry and other points in the Territory, that the Dominion Government was to assume the control of their affairs, they became greatly alarmed—perhaps without sufficient reason; although had the Government exercised proper forethought, it is quite clear the inhabitants would not have assumed the aggressive form which they did."

In the disaffected territory there were, in addition to Indians, and French-Indian half-breeds, some full-blood English and Scotch settlers, and occasional half-breeds of British-Indian parentage. Among these various peoples the sentiment was general at first that the national Government had been hasty in moving for control over the lives and properties of the inhabitants of the Northwest so soon after Articles of Confederation

had been signed at Ottawa, (1867). Throughout that territory for generations the Hudson Bay Company through its Factors and Agents, had been a sovereign power in disguise. Naturally, the company's employees were reluctant to see the end of this agreeable condition. In the early days of the provisional government (Riel's) these more or less closely related interests, if they did not openly espouse the cause of Riel, wished him good-luck in his enterprise.

Under the suzerainty of chiefs, sachems and sagamores, Indians had for centuries ruled over the lands and waters of North America, but on this occasion in western Canada in 1869-70 was set up the first territorial government, where numerous white settlers resided, officered by half-breeds who were first-cousins to the neighboring full-blood Indians.

That those who were identified with details of administration in the Riel Government, had time for matters other than occupation with the lush stores on Hudson's Bay shelves, is evidenced in the design and printing of an issue of postage stamps. The stamp, only a few of which are still in existence, bore the legend: "Republique Canadienne—Canadian Republic."

The mind of the national Government, however, was clear on the point that confederation meant welding into a national whole all territory north of the American boundary line, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the exception of American territory in Alaska, and Labrador.

This policy excluded the institution of little republics, provisional governments, or any other form of

political entities within this vast domain, not directly subject to national rule and national laws.

During the life of the provisional government over which presided the grandson of a Sioux warrior, progress was made along certain lines desired by the natives. The national Government granted land patents where tenure rights could be established and, due to restraint being exercised by both sides, the provisional government at least served to fill in the interregnum from the time the Hudson Bay Company by degrees, or precipitately—as it may be viewed, surrendered dominion, until the province of Manitoba was formed to take its place as a member of the Confederation.

From the time Riel took over the reins of government, various moves were made by Ottawa having in view cessation of armed revolt. Bishop Tache, long familiar with Indian and half-breed affairs in the Red River district, in 1869 in Rome, was called home and despatched to Fort Garry, by the advice of the Premier. The Bishop appears to have acquired a large view of the scope of his commission, for, upon arrival at Fort Garry he promised that if the insurrectionists would lay down their arms, amnesty should be granted to all, including those concerned in the shooting of one Scott, who it appeared was executed on Riel's order.

In addition, Donald A. Smith, head of the Hudson Bay Company (later Lord Strathcona), was sent out as special commissioner. Upon arrival in the West, Smith succeeded in inducing Riel to call a convention for January 19, 1870. On that date Riel announced the personnel of the Provisional Government, with him-

self as President; O'Donohue as secretary-treasurer, and Ambrose Lapine as adjutant-general. At the convention more than one thousand persons were present, and although on that day the temperature was twenty degrees below zero at Fort Garry, there was compensating heat in the arguments presented.

A second convention was called for January 25, which continued until February 11, attended by twenty French and twenty English settlers. The chairman was Judge Black, head of the law courts in the district. The local governor for the Hudson Bay Company, MacTavish, unable to be present on account of illness, had advised: "Form a government of some kind and restore peace and order in the settlement."

The Provisional Government was formed largely as Riel desired. At that time he had between six hundred and seven hundred well-armed men at the fort. Riel's parliament assembled February 26, and continued to function in some fashion for some months.

At Ottawa, in May, a Bill of Supply was passed appropriating the sum of \$1,460,000 to finance a military expedition to Manitoba, to "open up the North-West." The House prorogued on May 12, and at once a military force was organized, headed by Colonel Wolseley. The force consisted of two battalions of militia from Ontario and Quebec, 350 men of the 60th Rifles, 20 men of the Royal Artillery with four 7-pounders, 20 members of the Royal Engineers, together with hospital and service units; one thousand and fifty men all-told.

It is worth noting here that aids who were with Wolseley on this expedition included Lieutenant W. F.

Butler, later Sir William Butler; Redvers Buller, later General Buller of Boer War fame; James F. McLeod, later Commissioner of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, and Samuel B. Steele, later a General, and long prominent in Canadian military affairs.

The expedition followed the route of the old Jesuit trail, by boats from Georgian Bay to Fort William, except that at Sault Ste. Marie, men, supplies and ammunition had to move over a portage of four miles on Canadian soil because the American Government refused to permit a military expedition to pass through American waters at that point. From Fort William the route was up the Kaministiquia River, Shebandowan Lake, Kashaboiwe, Rainy Lake, Rainy River, Lake of the Woods, and thence to Fort Garry, where the command arrived on August 24.

When Wolseley approached Fort Garry, Riel, O'Donohue, Lapine, and the other prominent members of the Provisional Government departed elsewhere in order to be beyond immediate apprehension. Wolseley appointed Donald A. Smith acting-administrator until such time as the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Adams G. Archibald, should arrive. Mr. Archibald arrived on September 2, and assumed office on September 6.

A census taken in Manitoba in that year, 1870, showed a population of about twelve thousand, including fifteen hundred whites, six hundred Indians, six thousand French half-breeds, and four thousand English half-breeds.

After the evacuation of the Hudson Bay Company's post, the company announced that during the occupancy

of the place by the *Métis*, about a quarter of a million dollars worth of eatables, wearing apparel, arms and ammunition had been consumed or distributed.

Evidently there was no pressure upon Riel to depart from Manitoba, for it transpired that his former aid, O'Donohue, who had immediately gone to the United States, returned within a few months, at his heels a rabble of Fenians, in a belated attempt at mischief among the *Métis*. The new Lieutenant-Governor, Archibald, had not had time to organize a Provincial constabulary before this threat menaced his young Administration, and General Wolseley's soldiery had returned east. Some members of the militia had scattered throughout the new Province in search of personal opportunities.

In these circumstances the Lieutenant-Governor, in an unguarded moment, appealed to Riel, knowing that the *Métis* could in a trice gather around him an armed force, probably equal to the emergency. Riel, on his part, seized opportunity. He agreed to handle the situation to the satisfaction of the new Government. Archibald shook hands with Riel and his lieutenants and promised them at least temporary immunity from arrest, if they would organize the *Métis* for defense.

The alarm, however, was exaggerated. An alert American military officer at the border had penetrated O'Donohue's designs, and had turned him and his followers back, starting them on the trail southward.

Governor Archibald sent a written communication to Riel and Lapine, complimenting them upon the loyalty they had shown and the assistance they had rendered in arming against the threatened Fenian invasion across

the border of the new Province. His action in this matter created a brew of trouble later.

After the smoke had cleared away at Fort Garry, Bishop Tache, and Père Lacombe, the latter a prelate having the confidence of the Indians and *Métis*, were called to the seat of Government at Ottawa to confer about amnesty for the leaders of the late revolt, also with reference to the subject of Riel contesting a seat in the federal parliament, to represent the constituency of Provencher, Manitoba. It was apparent that in this district Riel could win an election, but it was maintained that his presence at Ottawa would be embarrassing to the Government. Tache was looked to to persuade Riel not to stand for election, but he informed the ministers that he would not undertake such a mission until, or unless, the Government officials consented to amnesty for the revolvers. An election was impending, but no such promise appears to have been given the prelates, for, "the Archbishop, and Père Lacombe returned to the west disheartened."

In the general election which took place in 1873, the MacDonald Government was defeated, Alexander MacKenzie, and his Liberal party being victorious.

While the MacDonald Government was still in office, on April 11, 1871, in the House of Commons the question was brought up inquiring what punishment was to be meted out to Riel. The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, in an official despatch on the subject, stated: "The French section of Her Majesty's subjects (although in Canada, most of them regret the death of Scott) are united to a man in the opinion that the part played by Riel in the Northwest was that of a brave and

spirited patriot; that it is principally to him and to those who acted with him, that Manitoba owes her present privileges of self-government and her parity of rank and standing with our sister provinces."

In extenuation of Riel it was recalled that he had aided Archibald in insuring that the Fenian attempt of 1871 should be stopped. Of this, the Governor-General said: "The acceptance of such service might be held, I imagine, to bar the prosecution of the offender, for, undesirable as it may be that a great criminal should go unpunished, it would be still more pernicious that the Government of the country should show a want of fidelity to its agreements, or exhibit a narrow spirit in its interpretation of them."

Members of the Liberal party made out that the Government had practiced duplicity with regard to the ordered arrest of Riel. (Under the premiership of Edward Blake in Ontario, a reward of five thousand dollars had been offered for the arrest and conviction of the murderers of Thomas Scott, a resident of Ontario). They held that after the Manitoba Government was organized no reason remained why Riel should not have been apprehended, also Lapine. Liberal members of the House stated that Premier MacDonald had entered into negotiations with Archbishop Tache, providing for the banishment of Riel for one year, and for his maintenance during expatriation out of the public funds of Canada: that, later, Sir George Cartier had arranged for the departure of Lapine and for the payment to him and his family the cost of their maintenance abroad. To meet which expenditures the sum of one thousand dollars was appropriated from the

secret-service fund, in addition to which the sum of six hundred pounds sterling was advanced by the Hudson Bay Company.

Sir John MacDonald maintained that it was the effect of the reward offered by the Liberal Government of Ontario which kept Riel out of the country, and beyond jurisdiction.

Under his authority the Governor-General commuted Lapine's sentence to two year's imprisonment and the permanent forfeiture of his political rights, thus annulling the sentence of death imposed.

Riel had been elected a member of the federal House, but was expelled on April 16, 1874. At an election in September of the same year he was re-elected. The new, Liberal, Government was no more agreeable to Riel taking a seat than had been the outgoing Conservative Government. On February 24, 1875, Premier MacKenzie had read in the House, judgment of outlawry, as pronounced in court at Winnipeg, and moved that Riel be declared an outlaw.

One can imagine the effect upon Riel of all this interest in his fate. What appeared in the public press on the subject was enough to drive a better-balanced man than Riel to distraction. When, in 1873, the order for his arrest was issued, he fled to Montreal. Pere Lacombe met him there in 1874. Riel was found to be in a highly nervous condition. Lacombe had him placed in Longue Pointe asylum, near Montreal. From there he was transferred to an institution at Plattsburg, New York.

On March 30, 1874, the attorney-general of Manitoba, examined in court with regard to what Manitoba

had done to apprehend Riel, and Lapine, and to punish them, stated that the delay in arresting Riel was due to the fact that no information had been laid before a magistrate for his arrest at an earlier date; that it was not until September 1873 that such information was laid; that in November of the same year a bench warrant had been issued by the Court of Queen's Bench to the sheriff of Manitoba, commanding him to bring Riel before said court to answer for the murder of Thomas Scott, and that so far the sheriff had made no return of the warrant. A warrant had also been issued by a police magistrate at Ottawa for the apprehension of Riel when it became known that he had been in Ottawa and had signed the roll as a Member of the House of Commons.

To bring the controversy to an issue, the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell (twenty years later Premier of Canada) moved in the House on March 31, 1874, that Riel be ordered to attend in his seat in the House on the following day. Riel, not appearing, he was, on April 16, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-four to sixty-eight expelled from the House.

The subject still troubling the MacKenzie, Liberal, Government, the Premier, on February 11, 1875, moved that full amnesty be granted to all persons concerned in the late rebellion in the Northwest, except Riel, Lapine and O'Donohue. In the case of Riel and Lapine it was proposed to grant amnesty conditional upon five years banishment from the Queen's dominions. Lapine had been arrested for the murder of Scott and was in jail at Winnipeg, under sentence of death.

This was about the wind-up of the matter so far as

the Government was concerned. Riel was far from satisfied with the action taken, but a time was to arrive when the "five years" provision was to give him a basis for argument.

CHAPTER XVIII

A RAILROAD INTO RUPERT'S LAND

EARLY TRAVEL. TRANSPORTATION. DAWSON ROAD.
THE RAILROADS. GABRIEL DUMONT.

CHAPTER XVIII

A RAILROAD INTO RUPERT'S LAND

THUS, through travail, Manitoba became a province of the Great Dominion in the year 1870. It was a province isolated from the older and more advanced East by a thousand miles of intervening rock ridges, bush, swamps and muskeg, inhabited by nomadic Indians, trappers, and by the minions of the Hudson Bay Company. Communication with eastern Canada was by way of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Chicago (by railroad), or over the slow and harzardous Jesuit trail and the waters of the Great Lakes.

On the Pacific coast, British Columbia was in the same fix with respect to direct, all-Canadian, contact with eastern Canada. Following Confederation, in 1867, British Columbia was disposed to condition entry as a member of the family of provinces, upon the building of a highway across Canada, to be undertaken by the federal Government.

The old river and portage routes had served the needs of the Hudson Bay Company. Excepting a total of fifty miles of portages, navigable channels for small boats and canoes extended all the way from Fort William to Hudson Bay, by way of Lake Winnipeg. Boats of considerable size, known as York boats, made good progress down-stream, while up-stream they were hauled by men on shore accoutered with towing harness.

Over prairie sections cart brigades were employed. From Fort Garry to Fort Edmonton consumed a month in travel.

On a scientific expedition through the western territories, in 1857-58, one of the members, S. J. Dawson, interested himself in the subject of routes for future roadways, but it was not until the year of Confederation that Dawson convinced the British and Canadian authorities that the time had arrived to build a road from east and west across Canada. Sections were begun from Fort Garry, east and west, a year before the Riel coup of 1869. It was a rough, corduroy road over which good progress could be made by marchers on foot, but which had little of comfort for persons traveling in horse-drawn vehicles. Farther west, and farther east, other sections were begun at the same time.

The British expedition of 1857-58, had been instructed to inquire into the possibility of finding a feasible route across Canada and through the mountains for a railroad line, but after four years of study, Captain Palliser, head of the expedition, reported that while it was possible that a rail line might be constructed, the cost would be prohibitive. When the purport of this report became public, traders in the Red River settlement sent an envoy to England direct to ascertain whether something could be done to supply highway connection between that region, and Ontario and Quebec, at that time called Upper, and Lower Canada, respectively.

After fifteen hundred thousand dollars had been spent constructing sections of the Dawson road, increasing population in the West began to create an insistent

demand for a railroad. In 1874, the Canadian Premier, Alexander MacKenzie stated that, in view of the appalling cost of a railroad, as estimated, he favored using the stretches of water-ways between Lake Superior and Winnipeg as a temporary substitute for a railroad for a part of the distance between these points, separated about four hundred miles. He felt that the undertaking with British Columbia to build a railroad continuously across the continent involved a greater cost than the country could afford. His administration decided upon the construction of sixty-five miles of railroad from Fort William to Lac des Mille Lacs. From that place extended two hundred and seventy-six miles of navigable water to North-West Angle, on the Lake of the Woods. A railroad of one hundred and thirteen miles, over the Dawson road, would reach the Red River. The water sections were separated by six portages, the longest six and a half miles, the shortest one-eighth mile. A project for a canal with locks was approved to the extent that MacKenzie's Government by vote appropriated one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and later five hundred thousand additional, for works of navigation. In that year, 1874, end of steel of an American railroad worming north was at Fargo, Dakota. There were those in Canada who thought that British Columbia might be appeased should a railroad be built from the Pacific coast to Fort Garry, there to connect with a line built southward to meet the American line at the border. Four years later a Canadian railroad was built down to the American border.

The MacDonald ministry had the Pacific project well in hand as early as 1872, when, suddenly, a political

bomb exploded which exposed what was called "The Pacific Scandal." It had to do with alleged misappropriation of moneys in connection with railroad contracts. A year later the MacDonald Government went down to defeat.

In 1880 the MacDonald party was in office again and the Canadian Pacific Railway was being rushed to completion. In 1881 the eastern section had reached North Bay, and in that year the section between Winnipeg and Fort William was placed in operation. The line between Winnipeg and Calgary, Alberta, was in service in the summer of 1883, and a last, difficult gap was completed on the north shore of Lake Superior in May, 1885. In November of that year the transcontinental line was practically complete.

It must not be concluded that in the beginning the new road was a high-speed line. In 1883, it took a train twenty-four hours to cover the distance between Fort William and Winnipeg, something over four hundred miles.

The coming of the railroad to the country of the Indians and *Métis*, was viewed as of ominous portent. The situation was the same as that which a decade and a half earlier confronted the natives in Kansas and Nebraska when Roman Nose and other Indian chiefs remonstrated at the building of railroads which inched relentlessly westward through Indian hunting grounds. Nor can it be said that on the part of others than the natives was the coming of the railroad viewed with unalloyed acclaim. In the excellent and voluminous biography of Père Lacombe, by Katherine Hughes, appears the following paragraph (with respect to the

coming of the Canadian Pacific Railway): "The Hudson Bay Company—every man of the ancient corporation, from stately directors at Fenchurch Street, to the traders at the outposts—looked on with dismay. A railroad to be built into the heart of their best fur country! Appalling!"

By the year 1884 the new railroad had pushed the Indian frontier northwestward from Manitoba, the scene of the 1869 revolt. Again the Indians and *Métis* were restless—this time along the banks of the Saskatchewan River. Once more gradually enlarging knots of braves went into huddles to discuss grievances against those in government authority who allocated lands for hunting and for planting. At Ottawa ministers were occupied with other matters. Grievances bandied along the trap-lines by braves who knew how to use rifles became guttural mutterings at the posts, in tepees, and in the villages of the Crees, the Blackfeet, and the Stony Indians. At this time there were thirty thousand Indians in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, not including the half-breeds.

There were numerous half-breeds who had received elementary educations at the mission schools, in which circumstance it may be that there was to be exemplified the truth of the proverb: "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing." When, in human relations, reason takes the place of force, sometimes the side having control of the greater power and large resources labors under the disadvantage of duress in not being permitted to substitute force for wearisome and prolonged attempts at conciliation. The half-breeds, able to discuss and to understand matters in dispute in common

terms and on common ground, were in a mood to capitalize each concession by presenting other, further demands.

By the year 1884 a considerable number of white settlers from Ontario, Quebec, the maritime provinces, and from Europe, had arrived in the North-West Territories. Villages and towns had sprung up in numerous places. The Indians and half-breeds were determined to procure the same land rights granted to the natives in Manitoba. The white settlers had various grievances of their own which concerned duties and taxes. Settlers, storekeepers, and some of the Catholic clergy among the whites, nursing personal grievances, and grievances in common with those of the half-breeds and Indians, were disposed to encourage the latter to agitate and threaten, hoping, no doubt, that unequivocal demonstrations such as the natives were capable of staging, would attract the considerate attention of the national Government.

The discontented populace was articulate but not organized. There were outstanding advocates of action: among the Indians, Piapot, Big Bear and Poundmaker; among the half-breeds, Lapine, Dumont, Dumas and Garnot; among the whites, Donald Ross, George Ness, Thomas Jackson, or Jaxon, and numerous others in each group. Petitions signed by hundreds of half-breeds and whites had, dating from 1874, been forwarded to the federal Government asking for consideration of claims, none of which had been given the desired attention.

Time and events were swiftly developing a need for a leader. Members of the various elements concerned

were energetic, most of them courageous, but none stepped forward to assume leadership. Oddly enough, O'Donohue had again appeared on the scene, but it was reasoned that strength lay in the claims of the half-breeds and Indians: it would be best should a half-breed be found, capable of assuming the mantle.

Someone mentioned the name of Louis Riel, who had succeeded in gaining land rights for the natives in Manitoba fourteen years previously. Another said: "Yes, why not Riel"? Then there was the query: "Where is Riel"?

The lapse of years had not in the Northwest dimmed Riel's reputation as a leader and organizer, while the flight of time had obliterated recollection of his lack of political skill. Old comrades of the plains, Dumont and Dumas, mounted their cayuses and started for Montana in search of the leader. Locating him was not difficult for these half-breed plainsmen, but persuading him to return required much argument which lasted well on into the night. He had a wife and two children and was living in domestic simplicity, where there was time for reflection and reading, and time for hunting and fishing. It was said that his wife favored "the return from Elba." Her voice was added to that of his half-breed friends, causing him to saddle up and cross the border.

Had Riel the analytical mind of a Winston Churchill, and the will to set down his thoughts he might have left an illuminating record of his reflections and ruminations on the long trail northward to Batoche, five hundred miles away.

It was July, when the green and yellow silhouetted horizons of the seemingly limitless plains merged with blue skies streaked with gold and bronze. Nights in bivouac, where clumps of sparse, stunted willows beckoned to the wayfarers as natural stopping-places, carried no threats of disturbance nor of discovery. The course was due north with no occasion for diverting excursions.

The summer of 1884, in retrospect, is not far back in time. It was in that year Grover Cleveland was first elected President of the United States, and in that year the foundation was laid for the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor—the Bartholdi shaft presented by France. “France!” thought Louis. “A Republic which repudiated Divine Right and passively sanctioned the deliberations of French Masons! Bah!” Riel’s thoughts were a mixture of what he had read while in his youth he studied for church orders; of what he had listened to as O’Donohue harangued, and of his own grievances against the federal ministers at Ottawa.

Considering that all of this was to lead to a sharp, if short, war between the natives of the Canadian Northwest, and government troops, it is of interest to scan what records are available so that the true situation as it existed at the time may be presented. As we attach ourselves as partisans to particular causes or movements, evidently it is not in us to agree, in our day, that the right and the wrong of the controversy are obscure. Always we are convinced that our side is right. The historians—the old ones—say a century, or a half-century must pass, and with it the chief participants in the main events, before the true situation, shorn of bias, the

withering blight of contemporary appraisal, and passion, may be presented for recording in the pages of history.

One who places dependence upon what appeared in the public prints at the time Riel returned to the North-west in 1884, should likely fall into the error of concluding that the half-breed covertly entered the country with the immediate purpose of urging the Indians into rebellion, to rapine and murder.

Nothing could throw clearer light upon the situation than the two communications reproduced herewith:

To the gentlemen of the committee entrusted with the seven Resolutions adopted by the people of Saskatchewan, William Cromartie, president; Louis Schmidt, secretary:

Gentlemen: As your delegates for that purpose, we have travelled the long journey of about seven hundred miles to seek an interview with Mr. Louis Riel. We had to go to the Territory of Montana, as far as St. Peter's Mission, situated in the County of Lewis and Clarke, beyond Sun River, at the foot of the Rockies. We found him humbly and respectably employed as a teacher in the Industrial College of the Jesuit Fathers at that place. After having acquainted him with the object of our mission we handed him our credentials and the six Resolutions on which we had to consult with him, also the document whereby our public invites him to the North-West. We asked him to come with us if he could, and to aid us. This interview took place on the fourth of June. Mr. Riel read our papers of trust, and begged to be allowed twenty-four hours to think the matter over before giving an answer. We were received by Mr. and Mrs. Riel in a friendly manner; their courtesy was sincere, simple and true. Generally, when one enters the house of a very poor man the feeling of the visitors is more or less painful, but entering Mr. Riel's house our impressions were different. The humble condition of his home reminded us of the opportunities he had for several years to be-

come rich, and even to make an exceptional fortune, and how at all risks he stood firm by the confidence of his people. We know how much he wrought for Manitoba and how much he struggled for the whole North-West, and seeing how little he worked for himself, we came back after a long trip of fourteen hundred miles with twice as much confidence in him as we had on leaving to go and seek him in a foreign land.

After taking into consideration the object of our visit, Mr. Riel told us that his advice "from the other side of the line" would be of no use to the North-West. He said that it had always been his principle to assist as far as it laid in his power those who happened to be in need of help within his reach. The people of the British North-West were particularly dear to him as he had suffered a great deal for their cause and welfare; that he had yet identical interest in several ways with theirs; and, when invited, as he was by a special delegation to go and strengthen their peaceable efforts in support of their rights, he could not refuse his help, "little as it was," said he.

He concluded to accompany us with his family. He retired from his employment on the ninth of June and we had the pleasure to start with him on the tenth of June. Our trip would have been pleasant in every way had it not been that Mrs. Riel had great trouble with her baby fallen sick on account of exposure. We sincerely hope that now the journey being over the child will soon recover.

Mr. Riel comes to help us without pretensions. He hopes that before long the North-West will be quite united and that the Government will see its way to do what is right toward every class of our people.

Further information with regard to our delegation will be given to your committee at such time and place as you see fit, and we have the honor to inclose herewith the written answer given to the delegates by Mr. Riel who personally explained his views on each of the Resolutions and on the line of action which we have to follow. His conversation inspires us with the greatest confidence, as his intentions are to help us, but if we understand him well he will help us without any wish on

his part to embarrass the Government. We have the honor to be, Gentlemen, your delegates and humble servants.

GABRIEL DUMONT

J. ISBESTER

MOISÉ OULLETTE

M. DUMAS.

The written reply made by Riel to the invitation extended him by the representatives of the dissatisfied half-breeds, and other residents of the Northwest, follows:

Gentlemen:

You have travelled more than four hundred miles from the Saskatchewan country, across the international line, to make me a visit. The communities in the midst of which you live have sent you as their delegates to ask my advice on various difficulties which have rendered the British North-West as yet unhappy under the Ottawa Government. Moreover, you write me to go and stay amongst you; your hope being that I, for one, could help to better, in some respects, your conditions. Cordial and pressing is your invitation. You want me and my family to accompany you. I am at liberty to excuse myself and say: "No." Yet, you are waiting for me, so that I have only to get ready. Your letters of delegation give me the assurance that a family welcome awaits me in the midst of those who sent you. Gentlemen, your personal visit does me honor and causes great pleasure. But, on account of its representative character your coming to me has the proportions of a remarkable fact: I record it as one of the great gratifications of my life. It is a good event, which my family will remember, and I pray to God that your delegation may become a blessing amongst the blessings of this my fortieth year.

To be frank is the shortest. I doubt whether my advice given to you on this soil concerning affairs on Canadian territory could cross the border and retain any influence. But, there is another view. The Canadian Government owes me

two hundred and forty acres of land according to the thirty-first clause of the Manitoba treaty. It is the Canadian Government which has deprived me, directly or indirectly, of these properties. Besides, if they only pay attention to it for a minute, they will easily find out that they owe me something else.

Those, my claims against them, are such as to hold good, notwithstanding the fact that I have become an American citizen. Considering, then, your interest, and mine, I accept your kind invitation. I will go and spend some time amongst you. By petitioning the Government with you perhaps we will all have the good fortune of obtaining something. But, my intention is to come back early this fall.

Montana has a pretty numerous half-breed element. If we count with them the white men interested in the half-breed's welfare, by being themselves heads of half-breed families or related to them in any other way, I believe it safe to assert that the half-breed element of Montana is a pretty strong one. I am just getting acquainted with that element. I am one of those who would like to unite and direct its vote so as to make it profitable to themselves and useful to their friends. Moreover, I have made acquaintances and friends amongst whom I like to live. I start with you, but to come back here sometime in September.

LOUIS RIEL

The presentation of these two communications at this point is for the purpose of keeping records in their proper chronological order. The war which within a year after the time of these communications caused desolation of settlers' homes, and the deaths of white settlers, Catholic priests, white soldiers, Indians and half-breeds, with the exception of the "Ghost Dance" outbreaks of the Sioux at Wounded Knee and Pine Ridge, in 1890, was the last occasion when there was armed conflict of considerable magnitude between

Government military forces and Indian military organizations.

Important points to be kept in mind which may be gleaned from Riel's reply to the delegates from Canada are that he had personal grievances and claims against the Canadian Government which evidently he desired to lump with those of the *Métis* in the Northwest. When he agreed to cross the border to contribute advice and direction he had in mind resolutions and petitions, and, taking his wife and two children with him, it was his intention to return to his teaching position in Montana within three months. His references to half-breeds in Montana, and to "votes" indicates that he had arrived at the conviction in 1884 that henceforth the rifle and the tomahawk should have to yield to the power of the ballot in human relations.

The fact that in addition to the Indians and half-breeds killed in the subsequent engagements, and to numerous Indians being sentenced to long terms in prison, Louis Riel and eleven Indians were hanged at the conclusion of the war, makes it of prime interest to trace developments from the time Riel returned until war broke out.

CHAPTER XIX

INTERRUPTION TO THE FUR-TRADE

THE FUR-TRADE. CREE. SIOUX. BLACKFEET. STONY. ROYAL NORTHWEST MOUNTED POLICE. BIG BEAR. TRAVELING SPIRIT. POUNDMAKER. PIAPOT. CROW-FOOT. DUMONT. DUMAS. FORT GARRY. MANACHOOS. PAPUH-MAK-SICK. APIS CHASKOOS. WAH-WAH-NITCH. NABPACE. WAH-WAH-SE-OWEN. ITKA. WAHSAGAMAP. MUS-SIN-ASS. CO-PIN-OU-WAY-IN. PEE-YAY-CHEEW. WAHPIAH. NAOKESIEKOOKEUaise. KAMANITOWAS. KOPIS-IK-INEW. TOUISSANT. KI-HI-WA-KAPIM-WAT. MITCHEWAYS. ASSIS-KIW-NATAUKO. KYAMKA-PIT. JAKECUM. PITCHEWAS. MEE-TAY-WAY-IS. OSASAWÉOW. KAMINIBOWAS. LUCKY MAN. WHITE CAP. BEARDY. WAHISCA. SAKAMAN. THREE BULLS. RED CROW. MISTAWAWSIS. STAR BLANKET. IRON SHIELD. RUNNING RABBIT. WHITE PUP. DAY CHIEF. CROP-EAR-WOLF. RUNNING WOLF. BULL HEAD. JACOB-BEAR'S-PAW. CHENEKA. JONAS-BIG-STONY. MASTER JIM. DAVID-WOLF-CARRIER.

CHAPTER XIX

INTERRUPTION TO THE FUR-TRADE

FROM a commercial standpoint, from the beginning of the exploitation of the resources of the American continent, the periods, long or short, when the Indians were on the war-path witnessed serious interruption to the traffic in furs. Even prior to 1760, while England controlled the colonies along the Atlantic coast, and France all of Canada and the Mississippi valley, the fur trade with Europe reached a volume of several millions of dollars per year. During the final struggle between England and France for possession of Canada, the diversion of Indian effort from the pursuits of the trap-lines to those of allies in warfare, resulted in reductions of about a million dollars per year in the total of exports of furs. There were proportionate losses to the fur trade during the Indian wars in the American west, while the natives struggled to hold hunting grounds. In Canada, the business of the Hudson Bay Company suffered seriously while the Indians and half-breeds of the Northwest spent much of their time attending pow-wows at which land rights, and hunting-ground privileges and restrictions were discussed. This consideration was one always to the fore in support of the urge to hasten composition of differences. In the Northwest in 1884 the fur dealers and the traders were more interested in profitable volumes of the fur traffic than

in what political division was best or was inevitable. White fur-traders, and dealers in trade goods attended district meetings at which local grievances were discussed by the Indians and half-breeds. From this circumstance the natives concluded that in any measures they adopted for redress they should have the unqualified support of the white population. Obviously this was a naïvé notion, and so it turned out to be when the time arrived to dig rifle pits and man them in order to present a front to advancing militia. For, notwithstanding that the commercially-minded whites were agreeable to signing petitions and resolutions, and to encouraging the natives to concentrate and to threaten, when a show of force seemed advisable, only the red-men and their cousins were sufficiently courageous, or sufficiently consistent, to take up arms and move into position.

September, the month in which Riel had planned to return to Montana, had come and gone, but Riel was still in the Northwest, flitting here-and-there along the Saskatchewan, gathering signatures to petitions, attending meetings in the small trading villages and in the lodges of the Crees, the Sioux, the Blackfeet, and the Stony Indians. The records of the time make it clear that his desire was to proceed in a constitutional manner. Petitions and resolutions, however, seemed to make little impression when received at Ottawa. Once more in history the rights of the natives were left in the hands of Indian "agents." In the main these functionaries were ill-qualified to handle the various matters wisely or with sympathetic understanding.

Well aware of the elementary reasoning of the na-

tives, Riel adopted methods and procedure calculated to appeal to their understanding. Actually, when Riel returned to the Northwest he found already in existence an organization known as the Half-Breed Council, made up of Moisé Oullette, Baptiste Boucher, Baptiste Parenteau, Maxime Lapine, Charles Trottier, Damas Carrière, Emmanuel Champagne, Pierre Henry, Pierre Garriepy, Albert Monkman, Ambrose Jopin, and Donald Ross, with Philip Garnot as secretary. No full-blood Indians appear to have been identified with this organization.

In fitting himself into this picture Riel's mind seems to have groped back through his historical reading, and through his Biblical ruminations. He termed the council the *Exovadate*. In signing communications Riel adopted the custom of employing the term *Exovede* to designate his own connection with or relation to the *Exovadate*. The significance implied was that he desired merely to be known as a "member of the flock." From the Latin, *Ovede*, "flock," and *ex*, "from," the term was derived.

In some of his more important communications his signature was made to read: "Louis (David) Riel, *Ex-ovede*." Recalling King David's seventeen years of struggle, Riel likened his own experience in the Northwest to that of the ruler of Biblical times.

Something in his intellectual makeup suggested to Riel that in these departures, new to the natives, there should be the advantage of mysticism: over the elemental reasoning and emotions of the natives he might be able to exercise control in proportion to the degree of respect, or awe, inspired. Only an inherited insight into

the workings of the Indian mind could have suggested this line of reasoning.

In his spontaneous as well as in his more deliberate actions Riel gave evidence of the possession of a reflective mind: a mind steeped in the subtle things of historical lore. In Cromwell's time, Cornet Joice, with four hundred soldiers at his heels, made way into the King's chambers, notifying the monarch that they had come to arrest him. The King inquired: "Have you a written commission?" To this the Cornet replied: "There is my commission," pointing to the four hundred armed men. Early in the hostilities in the Northwest, in 1885, Riel, surrounded by a group of armed half-breed adherents, was told that the police (Royal North-West Mounted Police) were thinking of arresting him. Pointing to his followers, he said: "There are the real police." Cromwell, in his day, preached to his troops just before the beginning of a battle. His captains were instructed to say, when firing commenced: "Present arms; fire! in the name of the Lord!" In marching, Cromwell's troops tramped to the Psalms of David. In the minor engagements, in which Riel found himself in authority and expected to give orders to fire, his order was: "In the name of the Father Almighty, I command you to fire!"

It is in these sidelights that we get an informative picture of Riel's mental processes. There is no question whatever that from the time of his youth the man believed he had a mission—the mission, he reasoned, of delivering his own oppressed people from chains hung upon them by dominating, powerful outlanders.

During the nine months following Riel's arrival in

the Northwest the only military force in authority in the territory was that of the famous Mounted Police. The force was small, thinly scattered over a vast area of sparsely populated country. Early in January, 1885, in a communication from a police inspector to territorial authorities, appears light on the situation which accounts for the plight in which Riel subsequently found himself. . . . "I quite agree with Father André, with whom I had a talk relating to this matter at Prince Albert a few days ago, that if this man Riel was out of the country the normal quiet would be restored. For, granting his power to make serious trouble may be but problematical, yet his very presence here causes a feeling of uneasiness among the half-breeds and Indians, which, as you know, is taken advantage of by others who are neither half-breeds nor Indians, to further their own schemes and ends. . . ."

This disclosure has a familiar ring, reminiscent of recitals appearing in early chapters of this work.

Voluminous petitions, resolutions and memorials forwarded to the seat of government received no more satisfactory consideration during the six months of Riel's labors among the inhabitants of the Saskatchewan country than before his arrival there, and this reacted unfavorably for the half-breed leader. In the minds of the complaining natives he was not making noticeable headway with the ministers at Ottawa. Perhaps he was not the best man for the undertaking! The opinion was circulated that Riel was in poor grace with the Government, and that he was not to be given official recognition as a negotiator.

As circumstances developed which were results of this

phase of the agitation Riel found himself in a predicament similar to that in which numerous other Indian leaders before his time found themselves. Indian ability to memorialize, Indian ability to present argument, brought only negative results. Temperate, constitutional procedure seemed futile. It was, however, only after the termination of the war that the public learned the details of the interracial difficulties in the Northwest. In the court proceedings which ended in death sentences for Riel and a dozen Indian chiefs, testimony was presented which certainly was not given proper consideration when guilt and innocence were juggled on the scales of justice. One exchange which should be credited with authenticity and truthfulness may well be presented here. Father André, a priest who for seven years had been among the Indians and half-breeds of the Saskatchewan, at Riel's trial testified as follows:

- Q. "What were the main grievances held by the half-breeds?"
- A. "The half-breeds demanded patent rights for their land: demanded frontage on the river, and abolition of taxes on wood, and rights for those who did not receive scrip in Manitoba."
- Q. "In what way did the half-breeds put forth their rights before the arrival of the prisoner [in June, 1884?]"
- A. "By public meetings at which I assisted several times myself."
- Q. "Did you take part yourself?"
- A. "Yes, at all those meetings."
- Q. "Were communications made with the Dominion Government; resolutions and petitions?"
- A. "I remember three or four times that there were."
- Q. "Did you get any answers to your communications?"

- A. "I think we received an answer once—perhaps we received an answer once."
- Q. "Was the answer favorable?"
- A. "No, it was an evasive answer, saying they would take the question into consideration."
- Q. "That was the only answer to a number of communications?"
- A. "Yes, I know of another communication made by Monseignor Grandin to the same effect."
- Q. "Did he get a favorable response?"
- A. "No, I do not know of any."
- Q. "After these petitions and resolutions had been adopted at the public meetings and sent to the Government was there a change in the state of things that existed then?"
- A. "The silence of the Government produced great dissatisfaction in the minds of the people."

The daily press of that time, in the Eastern cities, enlarged the size of the type used for the headlines of despatches from the Northwest. Having before us evidence such as that disclosed in the foregoing court colloquy, we are better able to estimate the justification, or lack of it, for newspaper headlines, and subheads which read:

"Riel Calls Himself a Liberator," "Riel Talks of Bringing the Whole North-West Under His Sway," and so on.

There is no doubt that the Indians, half-breeds, and white settlers, exasperated at the indifference of the Government to their petitions, urged Riel to organize the next step. At the village meetings, at Indian lodges, and along the trap-lines talk become louder—vehement. "What is the matter with Riel that he does not do something?" "What did we bring Riel back from

Montana for?" These questions and others having the same import came to Riel's ears.

His was a nature to respond to emotion and passion. Resentment on all sides becoming vocal, Riel found himself constantly the center of milling groups of red-men urging him to assume military leadership. With him was the recollection of his success in 1870 in Manitoba, but memory told him that for him the success was short-lived; that while his efforts on that occasion had gained worth-while concessions for Indians and half-breeds, he himself had to go into exile.

The situation was such by the beginning of March, 1885, that for Riel there was no escape from destiny. No possible path backward appeared. Forward, the path led to armed conflict. When this became clear to him he faced the inevitable, at first with the thought that it might be necessary only to capture, disarm and impound the officers and troopers of the Mounted Police organization. With these hostages Riel reasoned he would be in position to attract the attention of the Federal Government in such measure that the Ministers should realize that matters in the Northwest no longer could safely be ignored.

There was a Mounted Police barracks at Carlton, fifty miles southwest of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in charge of Major L. N. Crozier, the officer who wrote that "Riel's ability to cause serious trouble was problematical." Word reached Riel and his associates that additional police were marching toward his headquarters at Batoche. Riel replied that the only response ever given to Indian and half-breed appeals for redress "arrived in the form of more police."

Influential Indian chiefs, Big Bear, and Traveling Spirit, up Fort Pitt way, were in a frame of mind to brook no further delay. Batoche is on the south branch of the Saskatchewan River, twenty miles from the barracks at Carlton. A few miles from Batoche was the settlement known as Duck Lake, where supplies of provisions, arms and ammunition were stored. Events moved swiftly. On March 26, 1885, a detachment despatched by Crozier, consisting of eighty Mounted Police and a troop of volunteers from Prince Albert, raced toward Duck Lake to guard the military stores. Simultaneously, Gabriel Dumont, Riel's lieutenant, with a command of braves marched in the same direction with the object of capturing the arms. As the opposing columns converged upon Duck Lake it was seen that the natives would arrive first. As the forces neared each other firing commenced at once, and for an hour a sanguinary engagement continued, during which time twelve men were killed and seven wounded.

News of the fight spread rapidly across country. Indian chiefs who previously had been reluctant to make a display of force entered upon the war-path. Chiefs, at their villages, called in the hunters and scouts, and movements were set in motion which culminated in concentration at Batoche of a large number of Indians and half-breeds, armed with a miscellany of rifles, shotguns, tomahawks and other native weapons.

The affair at Duck Lake served to supply the newspapers of the East with rare meat for headlines. Patriotism flamed! Within a week of receipt of the news of Crozier's repulse, commands of regulars and volunteers from the East were on their way west by rail, arriving at

Qu'Appelle, in Saskatchewan, on April 9, having been en route two weeks.

On April 2, a strong party of Big Bear's warriors, under Traveling Spirit, marched to Frog Lake, near Fort Pitt. Here one of the Indian agents was located. Either with the idea of avoiding the killing of non-combatants, or of procuring additional arms, Traveling Spirit prevailed upon the Indian agent to induce the few settlers in the immediate neighborhood to give up their guns. It had been Riel's wish that non-combatant settlers should remain on their own grounds; that those who were unwilling to join his ranks should remain neutral. When armed conflict became imminent it was perhaps human that the settlers were disposed to concentrate in the villages, feeling that in this there should be mutual protection. At Frog Lake, once the local settlers, traders, and Indian agents had given up their guns, while the Indians and half-breeds retained their weapons, the situation became grave. The natives looked for and expected opposition. Abject surrender and capitulation were not anticipated, and in their excited mood the half-breeds allowed their enthusiasm to get the better of their judgment. That requesting the settlers to give up their weapons was a mistake quickly became apparent. Masters of the situation, the natives became belligerent. Shots were fired. Several of the settlers and two priests were killed, and several habitations were burned.

After basking in an atmosphere of victory over the minions of authority, the natives on April 14 moved against Fort Pitt, a huddle of log huts arranged in hollow square, where was stationed Francis Dickens (a son

of Charles Dickens) as inspector in charge of twenty-two men of the Mounted Police. Here the Indians and half-breeds expected to capture ammunition. The police command soon realized that it would be suicidal to engage the aroused natives in battle. The ammunition and supplies surplus was destroyed, after which the command retreated downriver, and were allowed to go without being attacked.

The military force from the eastern provinces, which on April 9, 1885, arrived by rail at a point within one hundred miles of the scene of action, was in command of General Middleton. A force of six hundred and fifty-six men was detached and sent west and north, to Calgary and Edmonton to restrain the Indians in the territory which twenty years later was to become the province of Alberta. This column was commanded by General Strange. From Swift Current, west of Qu'Appelle, on the railroad, another column of five hundred and forty-three men, under Colonel Otter, marched north toward Battleford, on the Saskatchewan, arriving at the objective on April 25.

The main force, ten hundred and seventy-eight men, under Middleton, had as its objective Prince Albert or Batoche, whichever should develop as the scene of action. About nine o'clock on the morning the command came into contact with the natives at Fish Creek. Gabriel Dumont, Riel's lieutenant, was in command here, and he had in true military fashion disposed his braves in the natural trenches which were coulées extending at various angles toward the river. A sanguinary engagement continued for five hours, when the Indians and half-breeds shifted their position to a ravine

a mile distant. Astounded at the fighting qualities of his opponents, Middleton decided not to follow until he had received reinforcements which were on the way.

This battle occurred on April 24, and here Middleton remained with his command until May 5, explaining that he desired to remain in camp until his wounded were properly cared for. Of the white troops five were killed and forty wounded.

After a march of about two hundred miles Otter's column came into contact with the native forces at Cut Knife Hill, on May 2. Due, it was said, to lack of foresight in proper scouting, the troops walked into a well-planned trap set for them, and although they had artillery they were worsted. A retreat was effected across Cut Knife Creek and the column returned to Battleford, Poundmaker, the Cree chief, declining to follow them to inflict further punishment, notwithstanding that his own force was about as numerous as that of Otter.

From Poundmaker's viewpoint his fight had been in defense of the wigwams of his village, and the fact that he did not follow up the advantage and do further damage to Otter's column should be placed to his credit. Of course, there are military men who say this outcome was typical of Indian warfare—Indians could win battles but could not win wars. Witness the affair of the Little Big Horn in Montana, nine years previously, when Custer's troopers were rubbed out to a man; the Indians, satisfied with the day's work, neglected to attack supporting columns which would at that time have been at their mercy.

Unquestionably practically all warfare between Indians and white troops terminated in this manner, and

from this circumstance the lesson should be drawn that the natives were not bent upon destroying the Governments of the white men: their desire was to make courageous, vigorous, he-man demonstrations against white aggression, hoping against hope that by such measures they should succeed in establishing the fact that what they wanted was either to be left alone in the wild territories of their selection, or to be treated with fairness and consideration if they had to live side by side with white settlers.

After nearly two weeks of inaction in camp at Fish Creek, Middleton, on May 5, began a march north toward Riel's headquarters at Batoche. On this occasion, throwing a screen of scouts in advance of his column, Middleton, on May 9 approached the Indian and half-breed position. The surface of the surrounding country was furrowed by ravines, between which had been dug shallow lateral trenches. As soon as his marksmen were within range of the pits Middleton gave the order to open fire. The militia, on foot, advanced cautiously, taking advantage of all cover available. Throughout the day much ammunition was used up on both sides without great damage. No charge was launched by either antagonist, and at the end of the day's fighting Middleton had not penetrated a single trench, nor had he disturbed the Indian formation. This, notwithstanding he was well supplied with artillery, including Gatling-guns.

Throughout the night desultory firing continued by snipers and sentries. On the following day the braves continued to hold their positions in the face of continuous cannonading and rifle fire. Middleton, having

gained a wholesome respect for the military prowess of the Indians and half-breeds, was reluctant to order a charge upon the rifle pits, fearing that his losses in men might be such as to jeopardize later success.

In the beginning the natives were but poorly supplied with arms and ammunition, and having nothing in the way of commissaries or bases of supply, were ill-prepared to sustain a protracted engagement.

On the morning of May 11, the white soldiers wormed their ways over the rough terrain toward the rims of the ravines and pits, where they dug in. Middleton, still fearful of results should he order a charge, delayed another day. On the third day of the battle, early in the afternoon, the native fire slackened. Ammunition was running low. Continuing the resistance became impossible. This situation becoming plain to the military command, the white troops were released, and with cheer on cheer the militia charged the native lines. By four o'clock in the afternoon the pits were cleared of defenders, the so-called rebels racing in retreat toward the villages.

An interesting commentary upon the outcome of the Battle of Batoche Ferry, compared to that of the Little Big Horn, is that during the three days the former continued, but six soldiers were killed and thirteen were wounded, while in the Custer affray the fight lasted but a few hours and two hundred and sixty-five white men were killed and fifty-two wounded. Humanitarians will say that Middleton's plan of battle was preferable. With the foreknowledge that Indian arms and ammunition were limited, Middleton perhaps concluded that victory was certain without serious casualties provided his com-

mand maintained continuous pressure until the enemy's resources became exhausted.

Gabriel Dumont, the Chief Gaul of the Battle of Batoche, when the engagement ended made his way south and crossed into American territory, where he had a brother working in the lumber camps in Minnesota. There remained Louis Riel, the forlorn captain! For a time he sat in headquarters. Headquarters had suffered somewhat in dignity, in enthusiasm. Vehement advocates, confident advisers, and brave lieutenants were subdued, immersed in gloom. An end had come to Indian and half-breed hopes and desires. Riel's wife and children had been living quietly in a small residence given to Riel by a prominent half-breed associate. It was said that Riel declined to accompany Dumont across the international line because it would not have been possible for him to escape, taking his family with him. He determined to remain and bargain for their security; and three days after the battle he appeared in General Middleton's tent, where he was placed under arrest, later being sent to territorial headquarters at Regina to await trial.

The uprising of the Indians and half-breeds of the Canadian Northwest in 1885, while it involved a considerable extent of territory, did not result in the killing of many white settlers, soldiers, or of Indians. That is, not many compared to the number of casualties in the series of engagements with the Sioux south of the Canadian border.

Prominent Indian chiefs, and numerous Indian and half-breed leaders identified with the unrest, appear to have survived the combat engagements with singular

good fortune. There may be creditable as well as discreditable reasons why this was so. From the viewpoint of the Government and the military it may be that the cessation of hostilities on this occasion left unscathed too many of those who had been characterized as instigators, ring-leaders of the uprising. However, forthwith numerous arrests were made, those apprehended being incarcerated in convenient jails, and trials ordered.

A study of the entire Proceedings of the trials leaves the impression that the desire was to be fair in a constitutional way, but that in the procedure the Crown's counsel, and the Court, had opportunity to make up for the ill-success of the military in rendering innocuous, in a permanent sense, the publicized leaders of the agitation.

From the standpoint of colonization policy in the Northwest, where Indians and half-breeds were numerous, it appeared justifiable in 1885 to do all possible to discourage the red-men from molesting whites. Quite likely the hanging of Riel, and of eleven prominent Indians, and the imprisonment of five others for long terms had the effect desired, for there were no further resorts to arms; but when one reviews the trial Proceedings one sees Anglo-Saxon fairness faltering in administration.

Although much argument was advanced by the Government's counsel making it appear entirely legal, the fact that the trial of Riel was conducted before a simple stipendiary magistrate, impressed impartial observers as improper procedure. What impressed some as being an ill-considered plan was to have a jury of but six men sit

in judgment in a case of such grave import as alleged armed rebellion.

There was protracted argument between opposing counsel and the magistrate with respect to postponement of the date of trial to enable the defense to procure witnesses and affidavits. There were vitally important documents taken from Riel's headquarters, and petitions and resolutions in the archives at Ottawa which the defense desired quite rightly to procure and submit as accounting for the conditions which caused the half-breeds to take up arms. The prosecution had determined to try Riel for treason and murder, and vigorously objected to such documents being turned over to the defense counsel. In this they had their way.

The prosecution was aware that defense counsel proposed to base the defense upon the grounds of insanity. Riel vigorously opposed this procedure, but was suppressed. From the start of the trial it was clear to all observers that the defense would have a difficult time clearing Riel of the charge of rebellion, while on the other hand the prosecution should have little trouble showing that Riel was quite sane. Thus the outcome was a foregone conclusion.

Much of the Crown's testimony was put forward by Government agents and others who evidently had been on the ground at the time of the agitation, but who had not fallen in line with the half-breed council's or Riel's plans to capture the Mounted Police, and who were detained and temporarily imprisoned by Riel's orders. In the trial evidence presented it was testified that the treatment accorded prisoners by Riel was courteous and considerate.

Riel had many opportunities during the trial to observe the ineptitude of his counsel, which was provided at Government expense. Before sentence was passed he made a lengthy address, going into detail of the entire half-breed question for years back. His address was replete with interesting side-lights on history. From the standpoint of oratory it was somewhat rambling, being extemporaneous. It was evident he had had no help with the preparation of notes. It was his contention that if he was to be tried for treason all the facts and circumstances over a period extending back to 1869 should be presented in evidence. His own counsel did him a disservice by conducting the defense on the ground of insanity, and the prosecution, with the consent of the magistrate who constituted the Court, did Riel an injustice by ruling out all background prior to 1884-1885. At least this is the present writer's opinion after carefully reading all of the trial proceedings, and after talking with residents of the Northwest within ten years after the trial was held.

Indians who were tried, sentenced and hanged, at Battleford, were, Crees: Manachoos (Bad Arrow), Kit-timakegin (Miserable Man), Papuh-make-sick (Round-the-sky), Pa-Pa-mah-cha-kwayo (Wandering Spirit), Apis Chaskoos (Little Bear), Wah-wah-nitch (Man-without-blood), Nabpace (Iron Body), Wah-wah-se-owen (Dressy Man), Ikta, Louison Mongrain and Charlebois (Charles Ducharmes).

Indians given prison sentences were: Wahsagamap (Bright Eyes), Mus-sin-ass (Man-who-shoots-the-eagle), Co-pin-ou-way-win, Pee-yay-cheew, Big Bear, Wahpiah (White Man), and Poundmaker.

Other Indians who took active parts in the agitation or in the military engagements were: Naokesiekookeu-aise (Four-sky-thunder), Kamanitowas (Idol), Kopisi-kinew (Thunder), Touissaint (Calling Bull), Ki-hi-wa-ka-pim-wat (Eagle shooter), Mitcheways (Conjurer), Assiskiwnatauko (The old-woman earth), Kyam-ka-pit (One who sits still), Jakecum, Pitchewas, Mee-tay-way-is, Osasaweow, Sawayon, Kapesinmokoe, Mesinachapayo, Askik-Puskookyoo, Mamekwesno, Kamini-bowas, Lucky Man, White Cap, Beardy, Wahisca or Moosook, and Sakaman, a half-breed.

In the Canadian west, a half a century ago, these men were the forerunners, in managing public affairs, of Members of Parliament, members of the provincial houses, senators and other government functionaries who in modern times make the rules and interpret them for the inhabitants of the vast domain which was Rupert's Land, and the North-West Territories.

After the close of the uprising of 1885, a number of Indians who had remained aloof in the struggle were provided with a junket to Ottawa and Montreal where they were received by Government dignitaries, and given a round of entertainment. Among these were Crowfoot, Three Bulls, Red Crow, Mistawawsis and Star Blanket. Personal possessions of some of these chiefs, in the way of pipes and articles of adornment are deposited in the Indian department of the museum at Perth, Ontario, having been contributed to that museum by the family of Charles Mair, an outstanding Canadian colonizer, poet, and soldier, who for years lived among the Indians of the West.

There is no doubt that the Government in office in

1885, was satisfied that a majority of the people of Canada, approved of the hanging of Louis Riel. Petitions containing thousands of names had been forwarded to the Government praying that the sentence of the court be not carried out, but these coming from a minority, and being largely French-Canadian, were received and filed.

Sifting numerous editorial expressions on the subject of Riel's mental and intellectual make-up, the following two are selected because of the sources, and because of their brevity. R. G. Macbeth, who was a soldier participant in the uprising of 1885, author of several authoritative works dealing with the Canadian west, says, in his book: "Policing the Plains": "Rattle-brained as he was, he (Riel) possessed elements of strength and magnetism enough to get a large following in a short time."

In "The Life and Times of the Hon. John A. MacDonald," the author, J. E. Collins, writes: (Riel was) "wiley as a savage, brilliant and energetic."

From which it may be observed that Riel lived in advance of the time when the abilities he was able to exercise would have attained for him a safe prominence, wherein political opportunity might have beckoned, on a scale vastly greater than that which lay before him in 1869, or in 1885.

Premier MacKenzie's biographer wrote: "It is now clear as daylight that the rising in the North-West, which has cost so much in blood and money, was no sudden freak, and was not without warning. It was the climax of a gradually growing discontent." He adds

that the Indians had dubbed Sir John MacDonald (Premier in 1884) "Old To-morrow."

In the House of Commons, Ottawa, on March 11, 1886, a Resolution was presented by a Government Member, reading: ". . . That this House feels it its duty to express its deep regret that the sentence of death passed upon Louis Riel, convicted of high treason, was allowed to be carried into execution." Sir Wilfred Laurier, in debate, used the words "The sacrifice of a life, not to inexorable justice, but to bitter passion and revenge." ! !

In September, 1901, two thousand Indians, including Blackfeet, Piegans, Bloods, Sarcees, Stonys and Crees, assembled on the wide plateau at Shagannapi Point, overlooking Calgary, Alberta. The occasion was in honor of the visit in the West at that time of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York—the Duke later becoming George V, King of Great Britain.

Six years had passed since the termination of the last native uprising in that territory. The State and the Church had each made progress in extending educational and industrial school facilities in communities and in scattered settlements, where Indian children might avail of these promised benefits. Individual Indian chiefs on hand to address the Duke, on the occasion referred to, were Iron Shield, Running Rabbit, and White Pup of the Blackfeet; Day Chief, and Crop-ear-wolf of the Blood tribe; Running Wolf, chief of the Piegans; Bull Head, head chief of the Sarcees; Jacob-bear's-paw, John Cheneka and Jonas-big-Stony, of the Stonys, and Master Jim and Joseph Samson, of the Crees. David-wolf-carrier, a Sarcee youth acted as interpreter.

An engrossed address was delivered to the heir to the British throne by the assembled native chiefs. This address was couched in terms divested of resemblance to the characteristic phrases employed in Indian orations of former times, due, no doubt, to the text having been prepared by the resident Indian agent. With the thought of having His Excellency understand that none of the signers (each of whom attached his signature in the form of an *X*) had carried arms in the uprising of 1885, the address included references to the unbroken loyalty of the natives to the British Sovereign. Oddly enough, the response of the Duke followed, in form, the time-honored custom of addressing the red-men in the picturesque language employed by their orators from the time of Powhatan and Donnacona. Quotations from the Duke's address follow:

“. . . We know of your affection for the beloved Queen [Victoria], who is no more, the great mother who loved you so much and whose loss makes your hearts bleed and the tears to fill your eyes. We know this, not alone from your words, but from the steadfast loyalty you displayed at a time when there was trouble in the land, and when ill-advised persons sought to create dissatisfaction among you. They failed to do so. The attachment you then showed to the throne and person of the great Queen has never been and never will be forgotten. The great King, my father, still cherishes the remembrance of your fidelity in those sad days, and it is a source of satisfaction and gratification to His Majesty that now as then he can regard you as faithful children of the grand empire of which you are a part. . . . Those of you who remember the day when the

Government of the Great Mother first came to you, or who have heard with your ears what your fathers have said, will recollect that your people were then hungry and wretched, their pipes often cold, their tents melancholy. You know that you did not cry to deaf ears, but that the Great Mother listened to you and stretched forth her hand to help you, and now these sad days have passed away never to return."

Each of the head chiefs was presented with a silver medal struck for the occasion, and so closed what was perhaps the last assembly of Canadian Indians at which so many as two thousand braves in native dress gathered to listen to the words of the Great White Father, delivered to them by his son.

A census of Canadian Indians taken in recent years showed about one hundred and five thousand Indians resident in the Dominion of Canada, aside from nearly five thousand Eskimos residing in the Far North. For territorial and reservation purposes the names of the tribes are given as: Iroquois, Algonquin, Sioux, Athapaskan, Kutenai, Salish, Eskimo, Kwakiutl-Nootka, Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit. The Haida people reside on Prince of Wales Island, and the Tlingit (the name derived from "Lingit" meaning "People") being Alaska Indians, the totem-pole makers. Totem-poles are paid for by contributions from all members of the family of departed chiefs. No Indian makes his own totem; the pole is cut and carved by strangers, or members of another family, members of the same clan.

In Canada what are termed "wild" Indians are wards of the Federal Government. Enfranchised Indians are regarded as "naturalized" citizens. Indians who served

overseas in the World War have citizens' rights and may vote in elections. Government support of Indians has decreased considerably in cost in recent years. In 1936 the sum appropriated by the Federal Government for this purpose was \$252,000. In the Indian fund held for the credit of the Indians there is the sum of \$13,800,000. Some of the Indian reserves are: Alert Bay, Battleford, Morley, Rimouski, File Hills, Rivière du Loup, Crooked Lake, Norway House, Cowichan, Qu'Appelle, and one near Hamilton, Ontario. Locations of some Indian schools and churches are: Nanaimo, Ahousaht, Alberni, Alert Bay, Cariboo, Penticton, Coqualeetza, St. Mary's, Christie, St. George's, Sechelt, Squamish, Kamloops, Kitamaat, Kootenai, Kuper Island, Lejac, Port Simpson, and several in Yukon Territory. A reserve for the members of the Six Nations is located in Tuscarora township, Ontario, with an Indian Superintendent at Brantford, Ontario.

At Lorette, Quebec, descendants of the Huron tribes are domiciled, where they carry on in their traditional ways, sustaining themselves in part from the proceeds of sales of Indian-made souvenirs to curious tourists, with the same pacific results that attend identical mercantile efforts of their cousins located upon reserves along the transcontinental railroads of the United States, where at desert and mountain depots passengers may acquire Indian blankets made in Arizona—or in the mills of Pennsylvania, depending upon the purchaser's awareness of the difference.

At Caughnawauga (meaning, the place where Christians live) on the St. Lawrence River, near Montreal, some twenty-five hundred descendants of the famed

Iroquois, have their habitations. They carry on much as do the people at Lorette. There may be there now, graying members of that group of red-men who, more than forty years ago, taught the present writer, when a youth, new tricks at the Indian game of lacrosse.

During the tourist season at Banff, British Columbia, there are colorful spectacles when several hundred Stony Indians from the Morley reserve, forty miles east of Banff, gather for tribal deliberations and sports. Each morning there is a parade participated in by the braves and squaws, all resplendent in gay trappings.

The prairies and slopes adjacent to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains—the territory lying between the tributaries of the Missouri and the Yellowstone Rivers—is a legendary land. In the early days there was a freshness in the verdure, a glamour in the vast spaces, in the chinook winds, in the distant snow-capped peaks. In the summer of the year 1896 the present writer was in bivouac on the east bank of the Teton River, a few miles from the Marias River, in Montana. After a hard ride down from the Judith Basin it was comfortable for an afternoon to rest on the bank of this beautiful stream, famed in Indian annals. To be off the ground while asleep, a hammock was used as a bed. The main object of this was to be free of the menace of rattlesnakes. About mid-afternoon the silence was broken by the sound of rhythmic, muffled marching. Waking suddenly, and gazing in the direction of the sound were seen four companies of infantrymen, plodding northwestward. These troops were from Fort Assiniboine, Montana, on their way to the Flathead Indian reserva-

tion in western Montana, where, it was reported, Indians from Canada and from the Sioux country were fore-gathering. The rumor proved to have been exaggerated. The soldiers returned to their barracks after discovering that it was merely a hunting party of young braves who were on a holiday fulfilling a long-delayed desire to spend a few days in the wilds—talking, smoking, thinking!

CHAPTER XX
CONCLUSION



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THE present author's undertaking to incorporate between the covers of one book a comprehensive narrative of the efforts of successive generations of Amerindians to survive as residents of their native land has obviously necessitated the winnowing of a mountain of records—facts, traditions and legends. For a half-century past throughout the world numerous expeditions have been engaged in explorations and excavations organized to uncover historical data and cultural evidence of the earthly existence of races of men which perished in toto, leaving little of value in the way of records or works.

It is a great tribute to the diligence of archæologists and ethnologists that so much has been learned about peoples of prehistoric times from scant, obscure relics. The ethnology of the Amerindians is a subject by itself. What we are herein concerned with is the history of the natives residing in America at the time of the discovery of the continent by Europeans, and their experiences with white adventurers, colonists and settlers down to the present time.

The circumstance which renders the subject of unique interest is that the native red-men as a race were not annihilated—that as a people they were successful throughout four centuries of time in maintaining their identity. Could certain of the colonizing administrators,

and military commanders of the sixteenth century return to earth today it is not difficult to imagine their amazement upon learning that nearly half a million red-men continue in North America as residents, having kept abreast of white advance in the face of no end of discouragement.

It is undeniable that Indian mentality, even such as it was in early times, and Indian character were such that the natives never should have fitted into the scheme of things obtaining, say, in countries washed by the waters of the Mediterranean during the days when galley slaves supplied the power for ship propulsion. Although determined efforts were made soon after the discovery of America to press the natives into service as slaves, on ships and on plantations, it is history that white masters attained little success in this direction.

The earliest contact between the American Indians and white men having been on the Atlantic coast left all of the vast hinterland westward into which the natives could retreat. It may be said that the extent of this refuge was so vast that for nearly four centuries the natives were able to escape annihilation by shifting westward in advance of white pressure. No doubt this was a fortuitous circumstance—for the natives. However, in the story as we have endeavored to unfold it from generation to generation it should be plain that the Indians stood their ground resolutely and valiantly on many occasions.

It is also brought out that in the far West natives resided who for centuries knew nothing about what their countrymen were experiencing with, and learning from, arriving colonists.

It is idle to speculate upon what might have been the situation in North America had the continent not been discovered until a century later than 1492. Non-discovery until the later time would have signified that in Europe and Asia material advance, particularly in sea transport, should have remained in the state it was in prior to the days of the caravels.

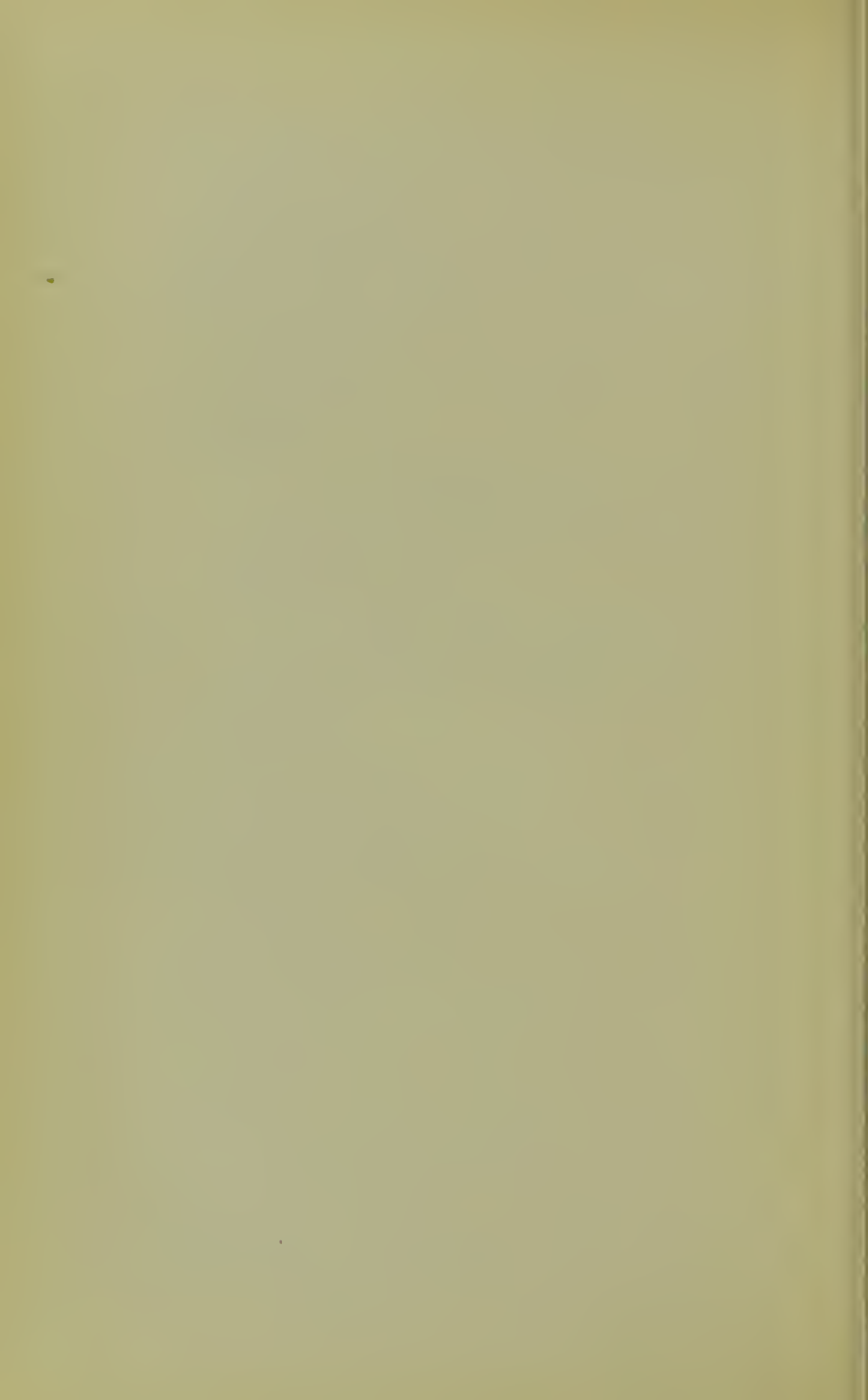
Upon arrival of the early Spaniards and French, the navigators found the natives in various sections of the country along the Atlantic seaboard living in various states of domesticity. Some lived in leafy shelters in the wilds, while others lived in huts sufficiently substantial and permanent to withstand stormy and wintry weather. In this there was evidence of learning and progress. In the matter of dress, also, personal raiment ranged from single marten skins to richly embroidered, tanned buckskin robes. Here again was evidence that advancement was under way. Another century or two of isolation from European influences doubtless would have registered further advance. All of this, however, is mere speculation. Interest lies in what actually occurred.

It should be needless to state that students of Indian history who pursue inquiry into Indian customs, culture, and social status as of a given period, in the various territorial segregations, are sure to come across numerous Indians by name and tribe not mentioned in the present work. That this is the case means that the present writer had the task of selecting from thousands, hundreds of outstanding natives who from decade to decade were typical of their times, and who were identified with events which were of a nature the same as or similar to other events, turning-points in American history.

Remembering that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and that the most cherished heritage of humanity is, or should be, freedom and independence, acquaintance with the life-long struggles of Tuscaloosa, Powhatan, Massassoit, Philip, Pontiac, Logan, Cornstalk, Brant, Tecumseh, Red Jacket, Osceola, Black Hawk, Red Cloud, Roman Nose, Joseph, Sitting Bull and Louis Riel, should aid the student of American and Canadian history to sense the significance of the lines of an anonymous poem which reads:

“When here King Philip stood,
Or rested in the niche called his throne,
He looked o’er hill and vale and swelling flood,
Which once were all his own.
Before the white man’s footstep, day by day,
As the sea-tides encroach upon the sand,
He saw his proud possessions melt away,
And found himself a king without a land.”

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INDEX

(For the sake of brevity the names of Indian nations and tribes are in general given in the singular, the word Indians being omitted in each entry. The names of Indian nations and tribes appear in italics, the names of individual Indians in Roman type).

Abenaki, 41, 84, 116, 148

Acoma, 176

Acquipaguentin, 149

Acuera, 11

Agona, 28

Ahnahaway, 156

Algonquin, 27, 85

American Horse, 233

Amikou, 82

Andaste, 79

Apache, 176

Appeyate, 206

Appomatox, 36

Aquamachuke, 25

Arapaho, 182, 198

Arapooish, 169

Arkansas, 78

Arwachwa, 157

Arickara, 170

Aspinet, 40

Assiniboine, 85, 158

Assoni, 149

Athapaskan, 176, 323

Atna, 258

Ayauway, 152

Bannack, 168

Beardy, 319

Bear's Cap, 238

Big Bear, 290, 309

Big Crow, 241

Big Mouth, 191

Blackfeet, 85, 159, 302

Black Hawk, 137

Black Jim, 209

Black Kettle, 196

Black Moon, 226

Black Partridge, 125

Black Warrior, 14

Blood, 159

Bloody Knife, 227

Boston Charlie, 208

Brant, John, 125

Brant, Joseph, 116

Brulé, 187

Bull Bear, 191

Bull Head, 251

Caddo, 149

Cannasatago, 63

Canonicus, 41, 46

Canonchet, 51

Captain Jack, 207

Castahana, 149

Cataka, 149

Cayuse, 161

Ceni, 149

Chaouanon, 149

Cherokee, 76, 133

Cheyenne, 155, 182, 198

Chic-chix-us, 207

Chickasa, 16, 78

Chinook, 161

Chippewa, 149, 257

- Chippewyan*, 85
Chiricahua, 177
Choctaw, 16, 138
Chum-munt, 207
Clatsop, 161
Cochise, 177
Comanche, 177, 182
Coneconam, 40
Coosa, 13
Cornstalk, 101
Cornplanter, 120
Coroa, 149
Co-we-go, 251
Crazy Horse, 220, 241
Creek, 11, 76, 129
Cree, 85, 302
Crow, 158, 167
Crowfoot, 319
Crow Wing, 183, 227
Cut-nose, 196

Dacorta, 154
Delaware, 24, 75, 168
Déné, 176
Dog Rib, 85
Donnacona, 27
Dotomi, 149
Dull Knife, 235
Dumas, M., 290
Dumont, Gabriel, 290

Eagle, 211
Ensenore, 33
Erie, 81
Esopus, 54
Esther, 117
Eskimo, 323
Eutaw, 170

Fall, 158
Flathead, 158
Flying Bird, 237
Fox, 149, 258

Garakontie, 82
Gaul, 226, 241

Geronimo, 177
Gi-en-gwa-tah, 117
Great Sun, 78
Gros Ventre, 159

Hackensack, 25
Haida, 323
Half-King, 92
Half-yellow-face, 227
Hassouan, 83
Hendrik, 94
Hopi, 176
Hump, 226
Hunkpapa, 187
Huron, 27, 79

Ildefonso, 176
Illinois, 148
Iron Dog, 238
Iron Horse, 220
Iron Star, 242
Iroquois, 54
Isleta, 176, 324
Iyanough, 40

Jicarilla, 176
Joseph, 209

Kaninaviesch, 153
Kankaskia, 148
Kappa, 149
Keokuk, 137
Keresan, 176
Kickapoo, 138, 149
Kient-poos, 207
Kiowa, 149, 198
Kiou, 149
Kite, 153
Klamath, 206
Knistenaux, 158
Konza, 138
Kutenai, 323
Kwakiutl-Nootka, 323

Laguna, 176
La-la-ca, 206

Lapine, 275
 Lappawinsoe, 26
 Lame Deer, 242
Lenni-Lenape, 23
Lipan, 176
 Little Beaver, 198
 Little Horse, 226
 Little Raven, 191
 Little Robe, 191, 196
Llanero, 176
 Logan, 100
 Looking Glass, 211
 Lucky Man, 319

Madowesian, 154
 Magnas Colorados, 177
 Mah-wis-sa, 200
Maha, 153
Mandan, 155
Manhattan, 25
 Manteo, 33
Maricopa, 177
Mascoutin, 148
 Massasoit, 40
Massawomeck, 36
 Maracom, 50
 Mauwee, 50
 McGillivray, 129
Melisite, 84
Menominee, 82
Mescalero, 177
Métis, 263
Miami, 92, 148
 Miantonomah, 46
Micmac, 84
 Micanopy, 134
Midawarcarton, 155
Mimbreno, 177
 Minavavana, 98
Mingo, 100
Minnakenozzo, 155
Minneconjou, 187
Minnetaree, 156
 Minnimick, 191
Minnisink, 23
Minsi, 23

Mississauga, 258
Missouri, 153
 Mistawawsis, 319
Mobilian, 14
Modoc, 206
Mohave, 177
Mohawk, 48
Mohegan, 24, 46, 148
Moingona, 148
Monsey, 23
Monsoni, 82
Montagnais, 85
Motantee, 149
 Musgrove, Mary, 77
Muskogee, 11

Nana, 179
Nansemond, 36
Narraganset, 41, 44
 Narrhetoba, 149
Natchez, 78, 149
Nauset, 40
Navajo, 176
Neutral, 81
Nez Percé, 161, 209
Niantic, 46
 Nibachis, 85
 Ninigret, 56
Nipissing, 82
Nipmuc, 41, 51

Ogalala, 185
Ojibway, 85, 158, 257
Okandanda, 155
Ollero, 176
 Ol-hath-e, 206
Omaha, 184
Oneida, 139
Onondaga, 83
 Opechancanough, 39
 Orono, 116
Osage, 152
 Osceola, 134
Ottawa, 85
Otto, 152

- Ouma*, 149
Ouray, 250

Padouca, 149
Pahkee, 162
Pamunkey, 36
Papago, 177
Paunch, 158
Pawnee, 152
Pend d' O'Reille, 169
Penobscot, 116
Peoria, 138
Pequot, 44
Peskuot, 40
Philip, 42, 50
Piankishaw, 138
Piapot, 290
Piegan, 159
Piman, 175
Pitt River, 206
Pocahontas, 32
Ponca, 247
Pontiac, 95
Potawatomie, 85, 149
Potomac, 36
Poundmaker, 290
Powhatan, 36
Pretty Bear, 238
Prophet, 123
Puncah, 138

Queetize-ow, 251
Quinipissa, 149

Rain-in-the-face, 220
Rappahanock, 36
Raritan, 25
Red Cloud, 185
Red Crow, 319
Red Jacket, 123
Ricara, 155, 170
Riel, Louis, 264
Rogue River, 206
Roman Nose, 188
Root Digger, 169

Sac, 82, 85, 149
Salish, 323
Samoset, 40
San Felipe, 176
Sans Arc, 237
Saone, 155
Sarsi, 85
Sassacus, 44
Sassamon, 51
Satanta, 198
Sauk, 152, 258
Saulteaux, 258
Sauteur, 258
Savannah, 77
Schonchin, 209
See-naw-ki, 78
Seminole, 133
Seneca, 83, 139
Shacopay, 258
Shave Head, 251
Shasta, 206
Shawnee, 23, 75, 101
Shoshoke, 169
Shoshone, 162
Sioux, 85, 152, 159, 183, 220, 302
Sistasoone, 155
Sitting Bull, 220
Ski-et-tete-ko, 207
Skynse, 169
Snake, 161
Spotted Eagle, 226, 238
Spotted Tail, 185
Standing Bear, 248
Standing Elk, 185
Star Blanket, 319
Starr, Tom, 142
Stony, 302
Straitan, 153
Susquehanna, 36

Tamaroa, 148
Tammany, 129
Tangiboa, 149
Tanoan, 176
Taensa, 149
Tarratine, 41

- Tecumseh, 121
Teedyuskung, 24
Tenino, 206
Tessouat, 85
Tesuque, 176
Teton, 155
Three Bulls, 319
Thunder, 211
Tlingit, 323
Tochwogh, 36
Tockamahamon, 40
To-mo-chi-chi, 77
Tonto, 176
Too-hool-hool-suit, 209
Too-na-ho-wl, 78
Traveling Spirit, 309
Tsimshian, 323
Turtle, 121
Tuscaloosa, 15
Tuscarora, 76
Two-Moons, 237

Uma, 176
Umatilla, 161
Uncas, 45
Unami, 23
Unilachtigo, 23
Ute, 177, 249

Victorio, 177

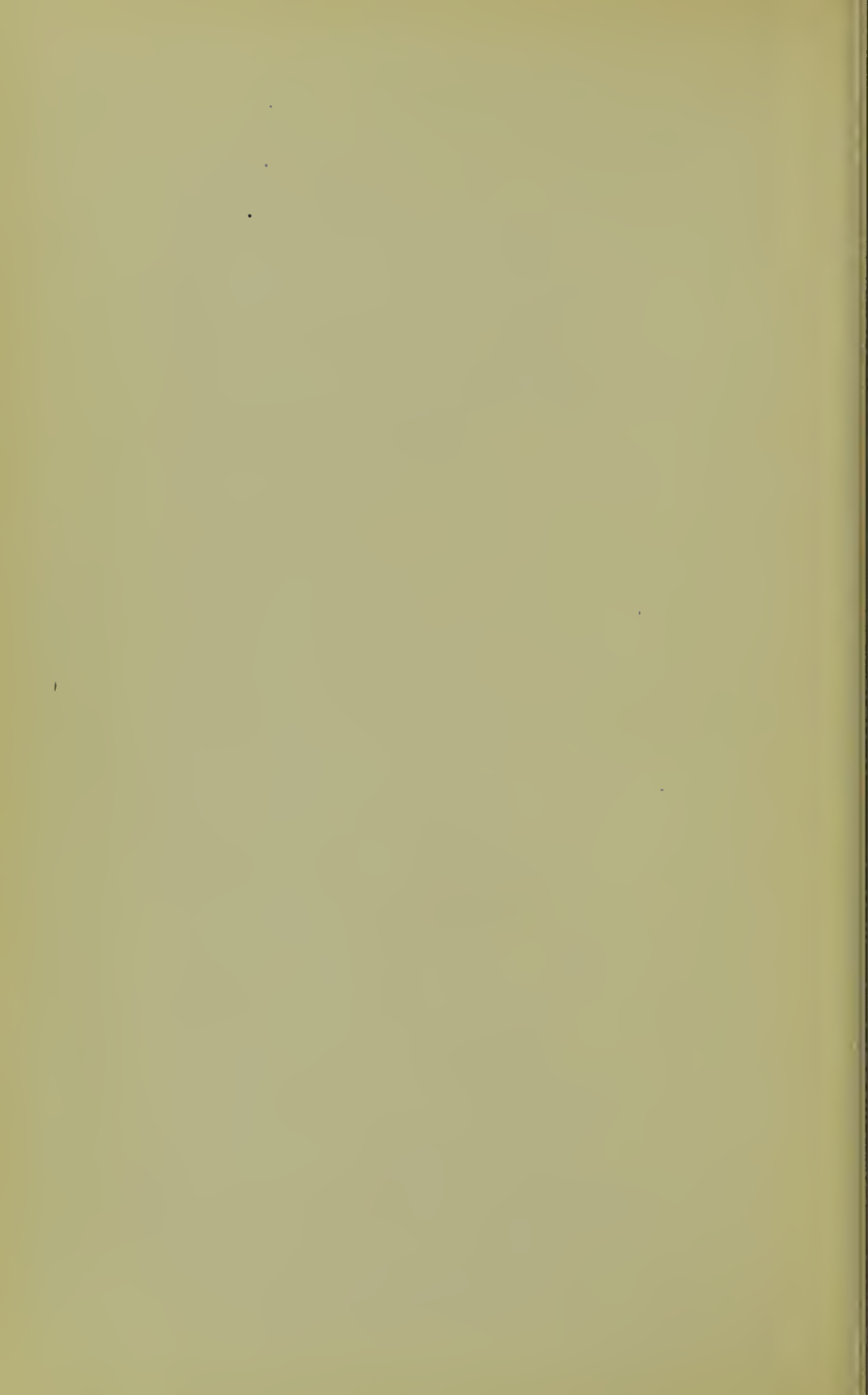
Wahisca, 319
Wahpatone, 155
Wahpotoota, 155
Walla Walla, 169
Wal-tit-a-wan, 251
Wampanoag, 41
Wanami, 23
Wanchese, 33
Wapoo, 148
Wasbasha, 152
Wattoa, 152
Wawatum, 98
Wearushhah, 153
Weas, 138
Weatherford, 130
Wetapahota, 149
Wettumamet, 40
Wingini, 33
Winnebago, 82, 184
Whirlwind Bear, 238
White Cap, 319
White Bird, 211
White Bull, 226
Whoa, 177
Wyandot, 85

Yamacraw, 77
Yamasee, 77
Yavapai, 177
Yellow Bear, 191
Yellow Knife, 85









OCT 26 1985

OCT 14 1983

OCT 27 1987

OCT - 5 1987

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OCT 28 1988

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